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THE HISTORY

OF THE

BAHMANÎ DYNASTY.

FOUNDED ON THE BURHÂN-I MA,ÂSIR.

BY

MAJOR J. S. KING, M.R.A.S.

14854

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Return to Daulatâbâd and proclaim Ismâ'îl Mugh Afghân as king ... ... ,,

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Date of his ascension, 3rd December, A. D. 1347 ... ... ,,

Or — according to another authority — 3rd August 1347 ... ,,

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Hussain Garshâsb obtains possession of Kotagîr ... ... ,,

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The Sultân marches against the mutineers at Sagar: receives the submission of Muhammad bin 'Âlam, whom he imprisons ... ... „

The Sultân encamps at Sagar, treats the inhabitants kindly, and confers various distinctions ... ... „

He sends a force to the district of Harîb (*sic*): they take by siege the fort of Karabjûr (*sic*) 13

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The army marches towards the country of one Nârâyana, and on the way, Tâlakaryah (*sic*) is surrendered... 14

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Nârâyana's troops make a night attack on the Sultân, and are defeated 16

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The Sultân, thinking the fort of Mudhol too strong to be carried by assault, lays siege to it, and takes it after four months 17

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The Sultân proceeds to invade the Konkan ... ... „

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He is promoted in rank, and sent against Kîr Khân to Kutûr... ,,

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Kâlah Muḥammad leaves Kalliânî and fortifies himself in Kutûr (?). Makes several sallies: is at last defeated, made prisoner and beheaded ... ... ,,

In this campaign the Sulṭân obtains two important fortresses — Kaliâna and Kutûr 20

He proceeds to Kalburgâ, where he erects several buildings: calls the town Aḥsanâbâd, and makes it his capital. ... ,,

The first victory in the Sulṭân's reign said to have been at Bhokar (Bhokardhan ?). He next took Mâhûr. Then exacted tribute from Mândû ... ... ,,

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Takes Dâbhol ... ... ,,

Takes Kalhar (?) and Kolhâpur, and then returns to Kalburgâ ... ... ,,

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Invades Telingânâ, spending about a year there. Takes Bhonâgîr, and after completing the conquest of Telingânâ, returns to Kalburgâ 21

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Date of this victory, A. D. 1347 ... ... „

Obtains possession of Miraj and the neighbouring districts, and then proceeds towards Kalburgâ ... ... „

Advice of the Shekh. By means of a stratagem, Hasan Gangû and his men enter the town and expel the garrison. Attacked by Parwan Râo, the chief of Kalburgâ. The latter is defeated and killed 26

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(*Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk.*)

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Is a disciple of Shekh Muḥammad Sirâj-ud-Dîn ... ... ,,
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The Kotwâl of Sagar promises to assist them, but proves faithless ... ... ,,

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Devadâr (Devarâja ?), the ruler of Vijayânagar, submits and agrees to pay a tribute of thirty-three laks of *tanka* a year ... ... ,,

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Marches against Sagar. The chiefs of that district submit to the Sulṭân and agree to pay tribute ... ... ,,

He calls Sagar, "Nuṣratâbâd," and returns towards Kalburgâ 38

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A year afterwards, he marches against Mâhûr 39

Fails to take it; but exacts tribute from the Râya of that place, and returns to Kalburgâ ... ... „

Rise of the slaves Ḥûshyâr and Bîdâr ... ... „

Death of Khwâjah Jahân, who is succeeded in office by Hûshyâr and Bîdâr 40

The Sulṭân invades Telingânâ. Conquers Râjâmundrî (Rajamahendrî) and other districts; appoints governors, and returns to Kalburgâ ... ... „

During a reign of a little over 25 years he made 23 or 24 expeditions against the Hindus ... ... „

Towards the end of his reign is again compelled to go to war with Vijayânagar. Marches towards Pângal. Is opposed on the way by the Vijayânagar troops. After a severe struggle the latter are defeated ... ... „

Besieges Pângal. Is repulsed, and retreats to Utakur. This defeat attributed to the Sulṭân's rupture with S. Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz ... ... „

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Resigns the government to Bîdâr and Ḥûshyâr ... ... „

They are inimical to Khân-Khânân (Aḥmad Khân) and scheme to exclude him from the succession, substituting the Sulṭân's eldest son, Ḥaṣan ... ... „

They gain over the Sulṭân to their side, and he consents to have Khân-Khânân blinded 42

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He and his eldest son, Ẓafar Khân, receive the blessing of Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz ... ... „

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A year afterwards he again goes against Mâhûr, and takes it by assault ... ... „

Takes Kallam by assault, and returns to Bîdar 53

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'Âdil Khân, Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others form a coalition to displace him 139

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A marriage arranged between 'Âdil Khân's daughter and the Sulṭân's son ... ... „

The marriage festivities in Kalburgâ are interrupted by the return of Malik Barîd to court, when hostilities are resumed. 'Âdil Khân and 'Ain-ul-Mulk against Malik Barîd, Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân and Dastûr-i Mamâlik ... 140

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The Sulṭân proceeds to Miraj and Panhâḷâ, to secure possession of the late 'Ain-ul-Mulk's *jâgîr* ... ... „

During his absence Barîd-i Mamâlik and his adherents take possession of Bîdar ... ... „

They receive the Sulṭân with all honour on his return ... „

Barîd's titles are further increased ... ... „

Hostility between 'Âdil Khân and Dastûr Dînâr: the latter obtains assistance from Aḥmad Baḥrî, and invades Bijâpur territory: 'Âdil Khân flies to the Sulṭân's court ... ... „

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Death of Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân: his title conferred on his eldest surviving son, Nur Khân ... ... ,,

The latter is given Pareṇḍâ in exchange for Sandlâpur [Sholâpur ?] which is given to Kamâl Khân, Ismâ'îl 'Adîl Khân's general ... ... ,,

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Mâhûr given to Maḥmûd Khân, youngest son of Khudâwind Khân. The Sulṭân returns to Bîdar ... ... ,,

Several of the principal *amîrs* — too late to take part in this last expedition — now come to court ... ... ,,

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The Sulṭân — taking advantage of the large force thus assembled — determines on a *jihâd* 146

Arrived at Dîwânî [?] a battle is fought, in which the Sulṭân is severely wounded; and this puts a stop to the fighting... „

The allies disperse to their respective provinces ... ... „

Barîd accompanies the Sulṭân back to Bîdar, and again assumes the government ... ... „

An *amîr* named Shujâ'at Khân having carried off two of the Sulṭân's elephants, the other *amîrs* of Bîdar, anxious to get rid of Barîd, suggest that the latter should be sent after Shujâ'at Khân 147

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Barîd's power then becomes greater than ever... ... ... „

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The *amîrs* — in spite of their quarrels among themselves — always loyal to their sovereign ... ... „

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PREFACE.

ALL histories of the Bahmanî and succeeding Muḥammadan dynasties of the Dakhin hitherto published, have been based upon **Firishtah**; but the history of the **Bahmanî Kings** which I now introduce, is based upon the **Burhân-i Ma,âsir, by Alî bin 'Azîz-Ullâh Ṭabâṭabâ** — a work written several years before Firishtah's appeared. Though the two authors were contemporaries, and probably met one another in Aḥmadnagar, neither makes any mention of the other.[1] We may presume that they both had access to the same works of reference in compiling the Bahmanî history; yet several remarkable discrepancies are observable, especially in the names and genealogy of some of the kings. Where the difference occurs, the Bahman coins of the period — which are the most reliable evidence — corroborate the statement of our author, and negative that of Firishtah. Further evidence against Firishtah is to be found in the **Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk** — from which I have given several extracts — and in extracts from **Târîkh-i Jahân-Ârâ and Sirâj-ul-Ḳulûb.** The latter written in A. H. 821. (British Lib.-Or. 1964, fol. 5*b et seq.* and fol. 34 — *vide* Dr. Rieu's Catalogue, p. 1039.) There may also be others which I have not yet seen.

The *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir* is essentially a history of the Niẓâm-Shâhî dynasty of Aḥmadnagar, and derives its title from Burhân Niẓâm-Shâh II. (A. H. 999-1003), the reigning sovereign, under whose auspices the work was written. The title is also a chronogram recording the year when the work was commenced, *viz.*, A. H. 1000 (A. D. 1591), and the history is brought down to the latter part of A. H. 1004 (A. D. 1595-96).

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[1] Firishtah left Aḥmadnagar, and proceeded to Bijâpur in A. H. 998 (A. D. 1589). Shortly after his arrival in the latter place he commenced writing his history, under the auspices of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil-Shâh II., but did not complete it till about A. H. 1036 (A. D. 1626-7). He mentions in the preface no less than thirty-five works which he consulted in the composition of his history, and — according to Briggs — makes quotations from twenty others in the body of his work; yet never mentions the *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir*, unless he alludes to it under some other title. Professional jealousy probably accounts for this.

As I have before remarked (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVII. p. 233), only three copies of this work are known to exist; and its extreme rarity doubtless accounts for its not having previously been brought to notice. The style of the *Burhán-i Ma,ásir* is more ornate than Firishtah's history; and in general completeness is inferior to the latter; but, at the same time, our author in many instances gives details not given by Firishtah, and relates the same occurrences in a different way; so the one work serves as a useful complement to the other. I have not thought it necessary to point out all the points of difference, as it would make the present work too elaborate. The reader can easily do that for himself; and with this and Briggs' *Translation of Firishtah* before him, he will have all the available raw material for a history of the Bahmani Dynasty, as far as it can be gathered from Persian historical MSS.

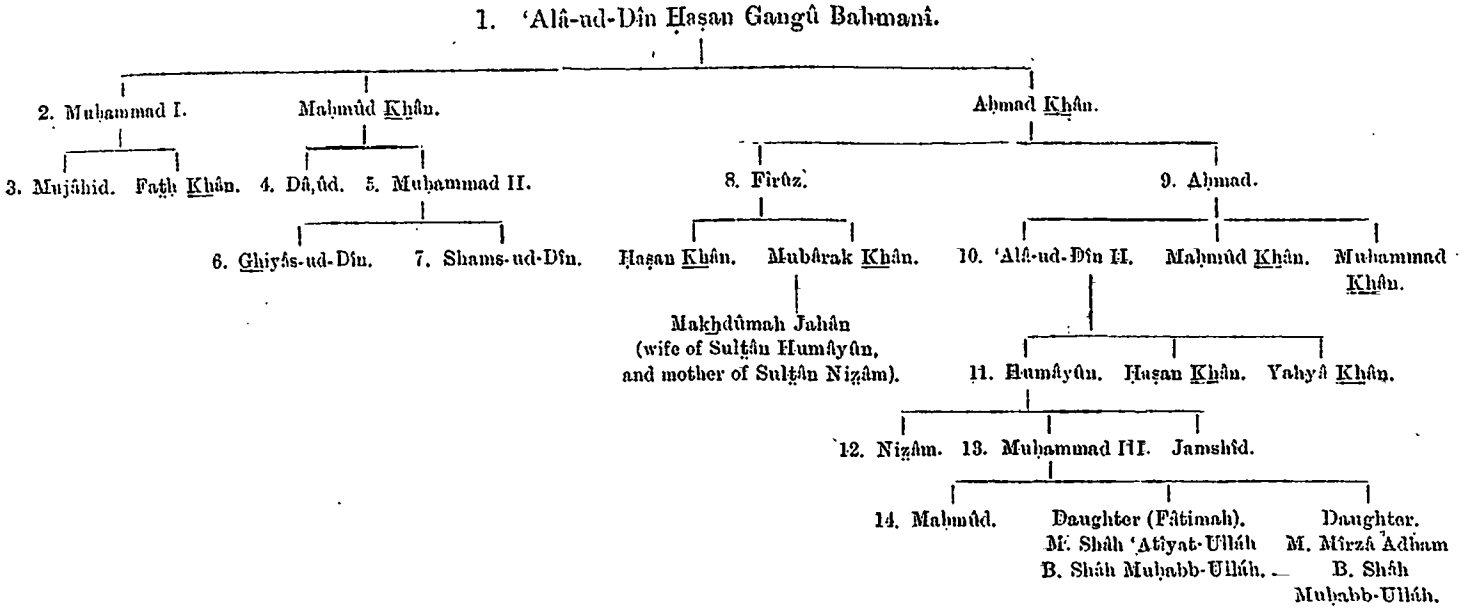
J. S. KING.

Sulṭâns of the Bahmanî Dynasty.

Names.	Dates of Accession. A. H.	Dates of Accession. A. D.	
Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan ...	748	1347	
Muḥammad I. ...	759	1358	
Mujâhid	775	1373	Assassinated.
Dâ,ûd	780	1378	Do.
Muḥammad II. ...	780	1378	
Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn ...	799	1397	Blinded and deposed.
Shams-ud-Dîn ...	799	1397	Deposed.
Fîrûz	800	1397	Do.
Aḥmad	825	1422	
'Alâ-ud-Dîn II. ...	838	1435	
Humâyûn	862	1457	
Niẓâm	865	1461	
Muḥammad II. ...	867	1463	
Maḥmûd	887	1482	Died 24th Zi-ul-Ḥijja, 24) (26th December 151 8) when the Dynasty becam e practically extinct.

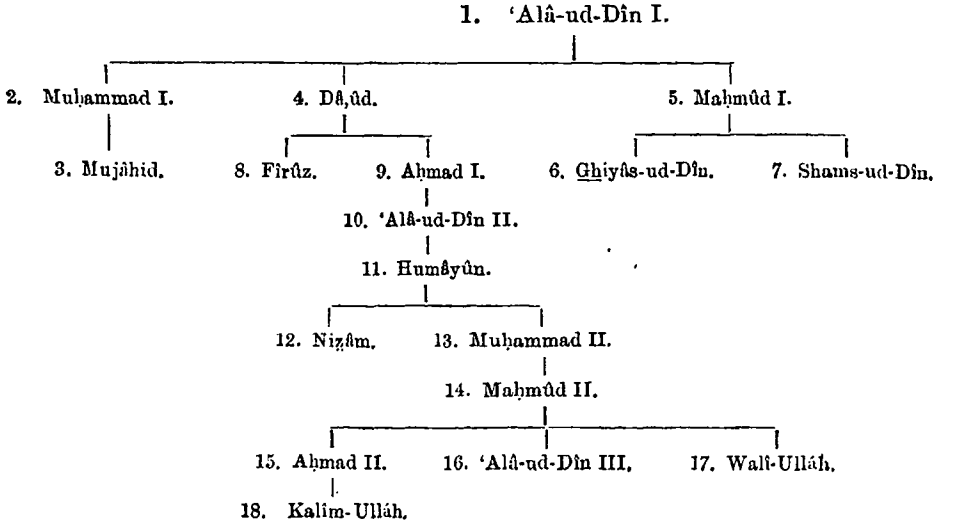
Genealogy of the Bahmani Dynasty.

According to the Burhân-i Ma'âṣir.



Genealogy of the Bahmanī Dynasty.

According to Firishtah.



CHAPTER I.

Account of the Kings of Kalburgâ,[2] who, according to the most authentic accounts, were eight individuals, the first of whom was 'Alâ-ud-Dîn wa ad-Dunyâ Abû-l-Muẓaffar Sulṭân Ḥaṣan Shâh al Walî al Bahmanî.

Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh Gangû,î Bahmanî was the first king, who in the Dakhin, the land of perpetual freshness (may God preserve it so!) raised the standard of Islâm, propagated the rights of the true faith, and overthrew infidelity.

Historians have related various accounts of the origin of this king, and to relate them all would cause prolixity, so we pass them by.

According to the statement of the author of the *'Aiyân-ut-Tawârîkh* and other historians of the kings of India, the ancestors of this illustrious sovereign traced their descent from Bahman and Isfandyâr; and what is stated on the subject in some books of genealogies which the author of these pages has seen is that Sulṭân Ḥaṣan was descended from Bahrâm Gûr, in the following way: —

Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn wa ad-Dunyâ Ḥaṣan Bahman Shâh, son of Kaikâ,ûs Muḥammad, son of 'Alî, son of Ḥaṣan, son of Bahtâm, son of Sîmûn, son of Salâm, son of Nûh, son of Ibrâhîm, son of Naṣîr, son of Manṣûr, son of Nûḥ, son of Nûḥ, son of Ṣânî', son of Bahrâm, son of Shâh-rîn, son of Sâd, son of Nûsîn, son of Dâwâd, son of Bahrâm Gûr. But God, the Most High alone knows the truth of matters! In consequence of his descent the king was known as "Bahman" — Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh Bahmanî.

During the reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlâḳ Shâh, who was king of the greater part of India, Ḥaṣan happened to go to the capital, Dihlî, and without disclosing to anyone the fact of his illustrious descent from Kaiyûmarṣ he became enrolled among the servants of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh.

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[2] I am doubtful as to whether the name of this town should be spelt Kalburgâ or Kulbargâ. Professor Eastwick (Murray's *Handbook of Madras*) adopts the former spelling; and in a *History of the Bijâpur Kings*, written in Marâṭhî, I find it spelt sometimes कलबुर्गा and sometimes कुलबुर्गा.

At that time it happened one day that the saint Shekh Niẓâm-ud-Dîn gave a sumptuous entertainment, at which Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh was present. Shortly after the Sulṭân had left the entertainment Ḥaṣan arrived at the door of the Monastery of His Holiness. The latter by his inward consciousness being aware of this, said to his servant: — "To-day one king has gone out and another king is at the door: let him come in." The servant went to the door and brought in Ḥaṣan. The Shekh received him with the utmost respect, and announced to him the good news that he was destined to have the sovereignty of one of the districts of India: this he mentioned as a divine revelation.

It is said that on this occasion the Shekh placed a cake of bread (*ḳurṣ*)[3] on the tip of his fore-finger and gave it to Ḥaṣan saying: — "This is the canopy of sovereignty which shall be exalted till the extinction of this illustrious dynasty at a long distant date." From this token of good news given by the eminent Shekh, Ḥaṣan was made hopeful, and began to cherish the idea of sovereignty and conquest.

In this year[4] a state of the utmost disorder began to show itself in the dominions of Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh, and each of the *amîrs* in charge of several districts raised rebellions. Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh also with a number of brave and select warriors — Afghâns and others — in accordance with the advice of the Shekh, set out for the Dakḥan and halted at Daulatâbâd.

In the midst of these affairs Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ was informed that the *amîrân-i ṣadah*,[5] who had been appointed to keep in subjection the coast of Gujarât, had withdrawn from

[3] By this is meant "*chaupatti*," a word familiar to all who have ever been in India.

[4] What the year was is not stated, but it was probably A. H. 744 (A. D. 1343) — *vide* Bayley, *Gujarât*, p. 43.

[5] There is no English equivalent for this expression. According to Sir E. C. Bayley it is said to be a Moghal technical term for a "captain of a hundred," but in this place it rather designates a class of persons who seem to have approached in character the "free-lances" of the Middle Ages in Europe. They were leaders of mercenaries and foreigners; at least for the most part: some were probably remnants of the "New Musalmâns," or converted Moghal settlers, though some were most certainly Afghân adventurers. Loyalty sits lightly on troops of this class, and they have ever been known for violence and rapine. (Bayley, *Gujarât*, p. 43, n.)

their allegiance and were in a state of rebellion, besides plundering the property of Musalmâns. Some treasure which had been sent in charge of one of the *amîrs* of Gujarât to the seat of government at Lâhaur and Dilhî had been plundered; a great number of those accompanying it were killed, and the whole of their goods looted. The *amîrs* of Gujarât, who went to put down this rebellion and disturbance, were routed, and most of them killed.

Sulṭân Tughlaḳ, on hearing the news of this outbreak in Gujarât showed much disquietude and agitation, and he proceeded in person to put down the rebellion.

Kutlagh Khân was governor of Daulatâbâd; and by the justice, bravery and good management of this pure-minded minister[6] the people had hitherto been kept secure and free from disturbance; but before the outbreak of rebellion in Gujarât he had by the Sulṭân's orders gone to the Tughlaḳ Shâhî court, leaving his brother, 'Âlam-ud-Mulk, as vice-regent of the district.

While on the way it occurred to Sulṭân Tughlaḳ Shâh that the district of Daulatâbâd being now free from the personal influence of Kutlagh Khân it was quite possible that the *amîrân-i ṣadah*, having the power to do so, might there also stir up Gujarât and raise a rebellion. To prevent this he sent some of his *amîrs* to Daulatâbâd bearing instructions for the *amîrân-i ṣadah* to join the Sulṭân's camp. In accordance with this order the *amîrs* went to Daulatâbâd; and the *amîrân-i-ṣadah*, obeying the order of the Sulṭân, started with the *amîrs* for the camp of the Sulṭân; but on the way, overcome with fear (of the consequences of their past offences), they one night attacked the royal army,[7] and the troops being taken unawares, most of them were killed, and the remainder took to flight, and narrowly escaping with their lives, made their way to the Sulṭân's camp.

After the rout of the Sulṭân's army the *amîrân-i ṣadah* returned to Daulatâbâd, and giving the title of **Nâṣir-ud-Dîn** to **Ismâ'îl**

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[6] Here begins the India Office MS., with the words
وزیر صافی ضمیر مردم آنملک از فتنہ و فساد ایمن و مطمئن بودند

[7] That is, the escort taking them to the Sulṭân's camp.

Mukh[8] Afghán, seated him on the throne; and, according to the custom of kings, sprinkled money over his head. 'Álam-ul-Mulk, through fear of them, had shut himself up in the fort of Dêvgîr (Daulatâbâd); but as he had treated these people in an approved manner they gave him safe conduct and dismissed him.

'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh Bahmanî, with a force of his own faithful adherents, was then in Daulatâbâd; and though outwardly, for prudential reasons, on friendly terms with these people, he was only watching for an opportunity of obtaining power.

In some histories of India it is stated that Sulṭân Ḥaṣan, before obtaining dominion over the Dakḥan, was enrolled among the troops of Sulṭân Tughlaḳ Shâh, who were employed in the defence of the Dakḥan; and when Ismâ'îl Mukh, who had at first been raised to the throne, was found unfit for it, the whole army united in exalting Sulṭân Ḥaṣan Shâh to the sovereignty of the Dakḥan. But God only knows the truth of matters!

When Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh arrived in Gujarât, a number of those who had rebelled prepared to oppose him; of these, some became food for the swords of the Sulṭân's troops, and others proceeded to Daulatâbâd and joined themselves to Ismâ'îl Mukh and his followers.

When Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ, having finished repelling the violence of the *amîrs* of Gujarât, heard of the rebellion of the *amîrân-i ṣadah* of Daulatâbâd, he proceeded with his army in that direction. Ismâ'îl Mukh was ready for him, and formed line of battle in front of the Sulṭân's army; but the latter being twice again as weak as the followers of Ismâ'îl Afghân, however much it attacked and retreated gained no lasting advantage over them. At last, however, the army of the Sulṭân gained the victory, the Daulatâbâdîs took to flight, and Ismâ'îl Mukh retired to the

[8] In the India Office MS. this name is always written مخ (Makh, or Mukh). In the British Museum MS. it appears in some places to be مغ and in others مغو. Firishtah writes the name مغ (Mugh, a Magian), and this is probably the correct spelling. According to Firishtah Ismâ'îl Khân Afghân was an officer of a thousand horse, whose brother, Malik Mugh, commanded the royal army in the province of Mâlwâ, and the selection arose pricipally out of the hope that the Dakḥanis would be supported by the new king's relative in Mâlwah. (Briggs, Vol. II. pp. 287-288.)

fortress of Dêvgîr. Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh with his own particular followers proceeded towards **Kalburgâ.** Sulṭân Muḥammad laid siege to the fortress of Daulatâbâd, and sent **Malik 'Imâd-ud-Dîn** with a select force in pursuit of Sulṭân Alâ'-ud-Dîn.

In the midst of these affairs news again arrived from **Gujarât** that **Malik Taẕhî** had raised a rebellion there; so the Sulṭân was compelled to leave some of his nobles and a portion of his force at Daulâtâbâd while he himself started for Gujarât.

When Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan became aware that he was being followed by the enemy, he laid in ambush with a portion of his force, and suddenly attacking them killed 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, dispersed his army and pursuing the fugitives turned back towards Daulatâbâd.

When the news of death of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk as well as the rout of his force and the approach of 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan and his followers reached the ears of the *amîrs* who were engaged in besieging Ismâ'îl Mukh, they wavered, and being powerless to resist they unavoidably raised the siege of the fortress and took to flight. Ḥaṣan then entered the city of Daulatâbâd in triumph; and **Ismâ'îl Mukh** coming down from the fortress of Dêvgîr voluntarily and gladly resigned the sovereignty in favour of Ḥaṣan; and abandoning the title of Sulṭân Nâṣir-ud-Dîn which had previously been given him, called himself **Shâms-ud-Dîn.**

The whole army and the populace having unanimously consented to **the sovereignty of 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan,** at the ninth hour of Friday the 28th Sha'bân, A. H. 748 **(3rd December, A. D. 1347),** or — according to one writer — on the 24th Rabî' II. of the year above mentioned (3rd August, A. D. 1347), he attained the object of his desires. At the entreaty of Ismâ'îl Mukh and all the *amîrs* and the army the ruby-coloured royal umbrella was raised over his head, and he was seated on the throne of sovereignty under **the title of Sulṭân 'Alâ'-ud-Dîn Ḥaṣan Shâh al Walî al Bahmanî.** The *amîrs,* ministers and generals vied with one another in doing him honour and praising him and swearing fealty to him.

The Sulṭân now applied himself to the affairs of government and the occupations of his subjects with such ability and attention that the signs of his illustrious actions embellishing the history

of the kings are beyond computation, and the mention of his good qualities adorns the preface of the history of the kings powerful as Heaven. In his day no tyrant hand struck the knocker of disquietude on the door of any subject, nor did the foot of any trader in oppression tread the inner court of the house of anyone with the step of molestation or hindrance.

The Sulṭân sent some troops in pursuit of the *amîrs* of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ who had taken to flight. Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, who was leader of the defeated army was killed, and the remnant with much difficulty succeeded in saving their lives.

When the Sulṭân had thus finished repelling his enemies, he turned his attention to those brave amîrs who had rendered him good service in the recent war, and conferred on each of them rank and dignity corresponding to his merit.

Of this number, 'Ain-ud-Dîn, who was one of the *amîrs* of Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ, with his son Muḥammad entered the service of Abû-l-Muẓaffar Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh and were honoured by the titles of Khwâjah Jahân and Shîr Khân respectively.

Malik Hindû,î Turk received the title of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, and was appointed Ṣâḥib-i 'Arẓ.[9]

Ḥusâm-ud-Dîn, Aḳchî became Nâ,îb Wazîr.

Zhakâjût Saiyid Raẓî-ud-Dîn, who was one of the descendants of the martyr Zaid,[10] received the title of Kuṭb-ul-Mulk.

Malik Shâdî, who had been Nâ,îb Bârbak, became Shams-i Rashîk Ṣâḥib-i Khâṣ.

Ḥusain, who had attacked 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, obtained the title of Garshâsb, and was appointed Ḳûr Bêg-i Maisarah (Commander of the Left Wing).

Mîr Saḳû Shams-ud-Dîn was appointed Ḳûr Bêg-i Maimanah (Commander of the Right Wing).

Sharaf Fârsî became 'Umdah-ul-Mulk and Dabîr (Secretary).

Ḳâẓî Jalâl, who in Awadh (Oude) deserted from the service of Sulṭân Muḥammad after killing one named Mukbil, governor

[9] Ṣâḥib-i 'Arz means one whose business is to review an army.

[10] Founder of the Zaidî sect.

of Awadh, and then entered the service of the Sulṭân, received the title of Kadar Khân, and his son Muḥammad became Azhdar Khân.

Several of the *amîrs* received the titles of "Khân" and "Malik." A few retained their previous titles. Several of the servants of the royal court obtained employment as *dîwâns*; thus Ḥusain bin Tûrân became Treasurer, and the son of Mubârak Khân became Superintendent of Elephants (*shaḥnah-i fîl*) and Keeper of the Seals (*dawât-dâr*).

Malik Chahjû became Saiyid-ul-Hujjâb (Lord Chamberlain).

Ḳâẓî Bahâ-ud-Dîn became Hâjib-i Ḳaṣabah (Constable of the City).

Daulat Shâh became Shaḥnah-i Bârgâh, and Shahâb, Sâlâr-i Khwân, which in the Dakḥanî dialect is called "Châshnîgir."[11]

'Alî Shâh became the Sar Pardah-dâr, with a number of others under him.

Each of the *amîrs*, *wazîrs* and generals, according to his desert, was promoted to *maḳâṣâ* and *jâgîrs*, obtaining towns and districts on feudal tenure, and kept up a proportionate army and retinue.

The Sulṭân having despatched the *amîrs* to take possession of the country and organise the army, each of them proceeded to his own district. Khwâjah Jahân was sent to Kalburgâh, Sikandar Khân to Bîdar, Kîr Khân to Kottûr and Ṣafdar Khân Sust-'Ahd to Sagar, which afterwards became known as Sâghar, and Ḥusain Garshâsb to Kotâgîr. Other generals, by the Sulṭân's orders, proceeded to plunder and devastate the country of the infidels.

'Imâd-ul-Mulk and Mubârak Khân, by the Sulṭân's orders, went on a marauding expedition as far as the river Tâvî [Tâptî], devastating the country of the Hindus, and beheaded any idol-worshippers they found. Among other districts they plundered that of دنگیر (Dangrî) and beheaded the cursed Râmnât. From that place they went to Janjûl (?), plundered the fort, and cutting off the head of [?] threw his body on the ground.

[11] A taster, a servant whose duty it is to watch over the kitchen of princes, and to taste every dish brought to table as a security against poison.

Of the other *amîrs*, who, by the Sultân's orders, had hastened off to take possession of their respective districts, Garshâsp, who had been sent to Kotâgîr on the way received intelligence from **Khandâr of the Dakhan, now known as Kandhâr,** that a number of Turks of the army of Muhammad Tughlak, who were in Kandhâr when they saw that 'Alâ-ud-Dîn had been confirmed in the sovereignty of the Dakhan, one night with a loud cry took possession of the fort of Kandhâr and submitted themselves to the Sultân, and Ikrâj being put to flight, went towards Bodan, and his people and family were made prisoners by the Turks. The latter wrote a letter to this effect to Garshâsp, and informed him of their submission to his authority.

Garshâsp was much pleased at hearing this news, and wrote them a letter, praising them for what they had done; and held out to them hopes of the king's favour. He himself also hastened to Kandhâr and the Turks went out to give him a ceremonious reception, and proffered their services.

From that place Garshâsp went to Kotâgîr and laid siege to the fort.[12] After some time the garrison called for a truce, and obtained quarter. They delivered over the fortress, and of their own accord agreed to pay tribute. When messengers brought this news to the Sultân he was much gratified; and by his orders the drums of rejoicing were beaten in the city, and all the people were glad.

Saiyid Razî-ud-Dîn Kutb-ul-Mulk, who had gone towards Mundargî, proceeded by way of Bhûm and took possession of it. After that he turned towards Akalkot which he also succeeded in taking, and then returning to **Mundargî** gave it the name of **Saiyidâbâd.** Each of the *zamîndârs* of that district who submitted to his rule he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands, and restrained his troops from plundering his property; but any who disputed his authority, their country and goods were plundered, and they and those under them put to death. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force he succeeded in gaining possession of three or four celebrated fortresses.

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[12] The word in the text is كر (*kar*, or *gar*): it is probably meant for the Hindî word गढ़ (*gaḍh*), a hill fort.

Kambar Khân,[13] who had obtained the Kotûr *jâgîr*, proceeded in that direction; but on the way turned aside to the fort of **Kalyân**, and for nearly fifty days laid siege to it, after which it capitulated; and the inhabitants on giving security for good behaviour were included among the subjects of the Sultân. After taking Kalyân he wrote to the Sultan giving him the welcome intelligence of his victory. The Sultân was much pleased, and ordering the drums of rejoicing to be beaten in the city of **Daulatâbâd, called it Fatḥâbâd.** The rejoicings were continued for a week.

Sikandar Khân, who by the Sultân's orders had started with an army in the direction of **Bîdar**, turned from there towards **Malkaid**,[14] and the Hindûs of that place having heard of and seen the recent success of the Turks, deemed it advisable to refrain from offering resistance; they therefore tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute, and so obtained immunity from molestation by Sikandar Khân's troops.

Sikandar Khân after his return sent a letter to Kanâbâyand,[15] who was **wâlî of Telingânâ** asking him to send a present of some elephants for the use of his army.[16] When Sikandar Khân's letter reached Kanâbâyand and he understood its contents, he wrote a reply, tendering his submission, and sending a written treaty to that effect: he also expressed a great wish to meet him. Accordingly Sikandar Khân with a large force proceeded towards Telingânâ, and a meeting between the two took place. Kanâbâyand[17] presented many valuable offerings, and was made hopeful of much favour from the king. He sent two elephants and other suitable presents to the king through Sikandar Khân. The latter on arrival

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[13] This name is here written قبز خان (Kabaz Khân) in the text, but it is evidently a mistake of the copyist's, for further on, when he rebels against the Sultân and is made prisoner by Sikandar Khân, his name is written قیر خان (Kîr Khân). The latter is also the spelling in the Br. Mu. MS.

[14] Written لمیکهر (Lamîkher) in the Br. Mu. MS.

[15] In the Br. Mu. MS. this name is written, in one place کبانند (Kabânand), and in another place کنانیده (Kananîdah).

[16] The letter is given in full in the text, but there is nothing of importance in it.

[17] Here the name is written کمانانیند, and there being no dot to the second letter it may be read either Kanânâyand or Kabânâyand.

at [?] sent the elephants to the Sulṭân and informed him of the good will of Kanâbâyand. The Sulṭân wrote a commendatory letter to Sikandar Khân and exalted him to the umbrella:[18] he also conferred royal favours on Kanâbâyand.

Ismâ'îl Mukh, who had resigned the sovereignty, had been granted as an *in'âm* Thânah Akâr (?), which is near Terdal and Jamkhandî; but after spending some time pleasantly in that country the demon of desire led him astray. The explanation of this is that the cursed infidel **Nârâyaṇa** had deceived him by promises of assistance to regain the sovereignty; and he, duped by these promises and vows, had raised the standard of rebellion. The end of it was that the perfidious Nârâyaṇa broke faith with him, and imprisoned the foolish Afghân, and after some time poisoned him.

Since the cursed Nârâyaṇa used to show himself submissive to Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlak, Khwâjah Jahân, by the Sulṭân's orders, started from Mubârakabâd Miraj on a punitive expedition against that man of unworthy actions; and Kuṭb-ul-Mulk also from Mundargî, going to the assistance of Khwâjah Jahân, these two prudent ministers joining their forces proceeded to Kalburgâ, surrounded that fortress and with guns[19] and ballistas (*manjanîk*) reduced the garrison to extremities, and destroyed a portion of the tower and wall of the fortress. Puchârparî (?), who was governor of the fortress, falsely gave out that they were in a state of starvation, thinking that this would be the cause of separation and despondency among the royal troops: the result, however, was contrary to his wishes. At last the besieged being reduced to great straits owing to scarcity of water, some of them calling for quarter descended from the fort by tying nooses on ropes. The victorious army then from all sides of the tower and rampart entered the fortress and proceeded to pillage and plunder, and killed a great number of the people. They made Puchârparî prisoner, and sent him together with a despatch announcing victory to the seat of government.

Khwâjah Jahân then assumed the governorship of Kalburgâ, and acted with such justice and kindness towards the inhabitants of the city and surrounding neighbourhood that he rejoiced their hearts. But after some time he received intelligence that a mutiny

[18] اورا بچتر سرافراز فرمود

[19] Here is the first mention of fire-arms.

had taken place in the army at Sagar. Ṣafdar Khân had laid siege to the fort of Kanbâ[20] or Kanbârî (?) and a countless number of people in that fortress had died from famine and pestilence. By the exertions of Kampras, Muḥammad bin 'Âlam, Nathû 'Almbak and other rascals who excited them, the mutineers after killing Ṣafdar Khân went to **Sagar,** and taking possession of the fortress proceeded to strengthen it. 'Alî Lâjîn and Fakhr-ud-Dîn Muhrdâr (keeper of the seals) by an artifice fled and escaped from the mutineers.

Since Khwâjah Jahân did not think it advisable, without orders from the Sulṭân, to lead a force against the mutineers to quell this disturbance, he wrote a letter to their leaders, saying:—"Killing a bad man was a very good deed; but now it is necessary that you should without delay come in this direction, and bring with you whatever you may have in the way of goods, elephants, etc., that they may be sent to the foot of the royal throne, and that you may receive due reward from the king, otherwise you will be deprived of the goods and the fortress, and perhaps of your lives as well."

Muḥammad bin 'Âlam sent Nathû 'Almbak to Khwâjah Jahân with a message, saying:—"The story of the goods and riches attributed to us is utterly impossible."

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When Nathû brought this message Khwâjah Jahân imprisoned him, and sent an account of the circumstances to the Sulṭân, who ordered Khwâjah Jahân immediately on receipt of the *farmân* to cross the river Jahnûr [Bhîmâ] and encamp on the further side, and not to move from there till the Sulṭân should himself arrive in those parts. In accordance with these orders Khwâjah Jahân encamped on the other side of the river, and every day used to send his troops to plunder and devastate the country of the mutineers, and used to put terror into their hearts. The Sulṭân on account of Muḥammad Tughlak did not think it advisable to leave Daulatâbâd and move to any other part of his dominions.

When the army of Khwâjah Jahân, by the Sulṭân's orders, had been encamped for two months on the bank of the river Bhîmâ one night by decree of the Divine Creator an old man of luminous aspect whose countenance shone with divine knowledge, appeared to the

[20] Name uncertain. Spelt كنبا in the text.

Sulṭân in a dream and informed him of the extinction of the empire of Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh, and announced the establishment of sovereignty in the Sulṭân's illustrious family. Even in the midst of his dream the Sulṭân determined in his own mind that that old man was Ulwais Karanî. It has been already mentioned that the Sulṭân was a disciple of the saint Shekh Niẓâm-ud-Dîn Aulîâ who had promised him the throne; and whenever the Sulṭân was in any difficulty the saint used to reveal to him in a dream the means of getting out of it. When the Sulṭân awoke he related the dream to his assembled troops.

On an auspicious day he moved from the capital Daulatâbâd towards Kalburgâ, leaving Kadr Khân, Garshâsb, 'Imad-ul-Mulk, 'Azd-ul-Mulk and other nobles in Daulatâbâd. In due time he pitched his camp in sight of Kalburgâ, and the inhabitants of that place hastened out to offer presents and do homage to him, and they prayed for the eternity of his reign. the Sulṭân conferred special favours on the principal inhabitants of Kalburgâ, and gave to each, according to his rank, presents and robes of honour.

When the news of the Sulṭân's arrival reached Khwâjah Jahân, leaving the leaders of his army in the camp, he himself hastened to pay his respects to the Sulṭân, who distinguished him by royal caresses and seated him on a golden chair.

In the midst of these affairs the king was informed that the Sulṭân of Hindûstân, Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh, while on his way from Gujarât to Tathah had fallen ill and died near the Indus.[21]

The mind of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh being thus set at rest from the annoyance of his enemies he turned his attention to the conquest of the various districts of the Dakḥan. In three days' time the royal army set out, and crossing the river marched stage by stage without halting to rest anywhere. When Muḥammad bin 'Âlam heard of his approach, seized with panic, he threw himself on the mercy of the Sulṭân. The latter spared his life, but ordered him to be imprisoned, and whatever money and goods he possessed to be confiscated in order to prevent his offering further opposition.

After that the Sulṭân marched towards Sagar and pitched his camp on the bank of the Sagar tank ; and reducing the district to

[21] He died near Tathah on the 21st Muharram, A. H. 752 (20th March, A. D. 1351) — *vide* Bayley's *Gujarât*, p. 57.

a state of subjection, tranquillized the inhabitants and ordered compensation to be given for any oppression practised on them by the tyrants. The learned men and *shekhs* of that part, such as Shekh 'Ain-ud-Dîn Bîjâpûrî,[22] 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Jânpûrî and Maulânâ Mu'ayyan-ud-Dîn Harûî — tutor of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh — paid their respects to the Sulṭân, and he distinguished them by *in'âms* and pensions, each according to his merit.

He then despatched a force under the leadership of Mubârak Khân and Kuṭb-ul-Mulk to make a predatory incursion into the district of Harîb.[23] When these *amîrs* with a large force reached the fortress of Karabjûr[24] they laid siege to it and reduced the garrison to extremities. The governor of the fortress, who was one of the great men of the infidels, seeing the fury of the assault of the Muḥammadan army, fear and terror shook the foundation of his strength and on the following day he sued for quarter, and waiting on the leaders of the army delivered over to them much goods and countless wealth as a peace-offering. After that victory the *amîrs* sent some of the associates of the governor of Karabjor(?) to the Sulṭân. The latter looked with much favour on the leaders of the army, and rewarded each of them according to his rank.

At that time the royal army being ordered to march from Sagar moved towards **Kanbarî** and **Mudhol**; and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kanbarî, Kapras, the chief of that district, hearing of the arrival of the Sulṭân, and dreading attack by his army, sent smooth-tongued messengers with presents of horses, elephants, and various goods to the Sulṭân. Through the interest of the courtiers they obtained an audience and presented a petition to the following effect:—

"I am the slave of slaves of the threshold of the royal throne, and I know the power of the conquering army, but from excess of baseness and sins I am debarred from the happiness of making my obeisance: if the royal mercy will wash away the dust of meanness of this slave in the limpid water of pardon, and draw the pen of forgiveness through the registers of crimes of this penitent one,

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[22] Author of the *Muḥakât*, and *Kitâb-ul-Anwâr*, containing a history of all the Muhammadan saints of India.

[23] Not identified. The word is written "Harîp" in the Br. Mu. MS.

[24] Spelt كرنجور in the text. Probably Kalabgûr is meant, between Golkoṇḍâ and Bîdar.

he will assuredly pay two years' revenue into the royal treasury; and after that, obtaining hopefulness of royal favours, he will put away fear from his heart, and hasten, with the step of service to the royal threshold."

٦ The Sulṭân having compassion on the weakness and disappointment of Kapras ordered that his offer of tribute should be accepted, and that no further injury should be done to his fortress or country.

٧ The army then set off on the march for the country of the accursed Nârâyaṇa, and when they reached Tâlgirya (?), Dunyâpuk (?) begged for pardon, and he as well as his wife, sons and other relatives came out of the fort and threw themselves at the feet of the Sulṭân who received them kindly, and confirmed them in possession of the fort and district.

The Sulṭân then continued his march against the traitor Nârâyaṇa. On arriving within one stage of the place of that ignoble one a petition reached the Sulṭân from Sîn-ud-Dîn[25] Muḳṭ'a, who in conjunction with Nârâyaṇa used constantly to assist Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaḳ Shâh. The letter contained assurances of his submission and loyalty, and said that he would shortly pay his respects to the Sulṭân. The latter was much pleased to hear this, and honoured Sin-ud-Dîn by sending to inform him of his benevolent inclinations, and wrote him a *farmân* containing many assurances of favour and affection. Mu'în-ud-Dîn had seen Nârâyaṇa as well as the result of the fraudulent conduct of Ismâ'îl Mukh, so he hastened to wait on the Sulṭân and had the honour of making his obeisance to him. The Sulṭân in the plenitude of his favour and kindness embraced him and said:—

"It is the usage of people of sincerity and piety to exert themselves in the business of their lords, and when they obtain knowledge of justice and injustice, leave the service of the tyrant and incline towards that of the just man." Mu'în-ud-Dîn was then distinguished by a special robe of honour.

٨ Next day the Sulṭân marched towards Mudhol, hunting and shooting on the way, and in terror of the troops the country was cleared of lions, tigers and panthers.

[25] In the I. O. MS. this name is distinctly written سیں الدیں (Sîn-ud-Dîn) wherever it occurs; but in the Br. Mu. MS. it is in each place distinctly written معیں الدیں (Mu'în-ud-Dîn). The latter is most probably correct.

When the royal army passed the river Kistnâ the country of the base infidels became turned topsy-turvy, and the cultivated lands changed into desolation: all the inhabitants took refuge in the four strongest fortressses in that part of the country.

The rebel Nârâyaṇa seeing that it was useless for him to use his claws against a furious lion, being himself a fox, he wished by fox-play to avoid contending with lions; so he sent an eloquent man to the Sulṭân with the following memorial:—

"I am a slave of the ancient servants of the royal threshold, but owing to my many crimes and the awfulness of the wrath of the Sulṭân of the World I cannot have the presumption to kiss the ground before him. If the King of the World would order one of the slaves of the court to come over in this direction in order that this slave may explain his circumstances to him, and if he will briefly bring them to the notice of your Majesty, it will not be far from the perfection of kindness to servants and the application of a remedy."

The Sulṭân, agreeing to the proposal of that accursed, vile one, sent Ḳâẓî Bahâ-i-Ḥâjib to say to him:— "Your crimes are notorious, and on account of them you are deserving of exemplary punishment; but if you repent and obey the laws of government in future, your former faults will be overlooked, and your life and the lives of your sons and family — several thousand persons — may be spared; otherwise your fortress will be razed to the ground, your dwelling-places will be sacked, and your irreligious body with all your followers will become as a fable."

When the infidel **Nârâyaṇa** heard these awful words the fear which had settled in his heart was increased; but fortune having turned against him and plunged him in misery he could not agree to serve the Sulṭân, but set his heart on opposing him, and **took refuge in the fort of Jamkẖandî**, which was considered one of the greatest of his forts. He sent three of his chief nobles to hold three other forts; and of these men he sent one vile one named Gopâl to hold the fort of Mudhôl, and two other infidels to Terdal and Bâgalkot.

When the Sulṭân knew that the impure and fearless Nârâyaṇa had no desire to yield submission, he determined first of all to take the fort of Mudhol, which was the strongest of the forts of

that contemptible one, who owing to the strength of that place was beyond the reach of everyone. This fort he determined to take, in order that fear being established in the hearts of the accursed people of that district they would no longer desire to offer any opposition nor engage in war with the Muḥammadan army.

When the Sulṭân, with the intention of attacking the fort of Mudhol, crossed the river and turned in that direction, the traitor Nârâyaṇa deemed it advisable to send a number of his troops to make a night attack on the royal camp, hoping by this manœuvre to avert the fate which threatened them: but destiny was against them. The cursed Nârâyaṇa sent nearly two hundred horse and a thousand infantry on a dark night to attack the royal army; but he was not aware that he who throws a stone at the sky inevitably wounds his own head. This doomed band of infidels reached the corner of the Sulṭân's camp, but only to shut the door of safety in the face of their own fortune. The vile infidels in the fort of Mudhol also, when they heard the tumult of that powerless handful, a number of them rashly came out of the fort and joined that rabble. But since the royal troops, like their own fortune, were awake and on the alert, they suddenly intercepted those worthless infidels and almost annihilated them. Most of them were killed, but some escaped: a few crept like mice into the holes of the fortress, and about twenty of them fled towards Jamkḥandî, and with a thousand troubles and perplexities reached that place.

Next morning the Sulṭân sat on his throne and held a public audience; and the nobles and leaders of the army brought before him the prisoners and booty which they had acquired. Some of the prisoners were put to death, and the brave men who on that dark night had shown special bravery were distinguished by royal favours, and the booty which had been gained was given to them. This signal victory had the effect of greatly weakening the power of Nârâyaṇa and dispiriting his army.

Simultaneously with this affair the Shâhzâdah joined the camp of the Sulṭân, and a number of the nobles and ministers were sent out to meet him. When the Shâhzâdah saw the Sulṭân he hastened to salute him. The Sulṭân called him to him, caught him to his breast, kissed him on the face, and asked him about his journey and the affairs of his army. The Shâhzâdah gave him clear

answers, and the Sultân was astonished at his shrewdness and sagacity, and presented him with a special robe of honour and many other royal distinctions.

On the following day the Sultân ordered an assault on the fortress; but afterwards perceiving that this would entail the loss of many brave men at the hands of the infidels, which was contrary to the laws of religion and manliness, he countermanded the assault and formed a *cordon* round the fortress, and dug a trench completely round it, so that it might more easily be taken.

For four months they were engaged in **the siege of Mudhol**: at last the infidels being reduced to extremities paid two years' revenue into the royal treasury besides promising to pay the future revenue; and agreed that after the return of the royal army they would be submissive to the court, and endeavour by every means in their power to atone for their past offences.

The army then encamped within sight of **the fortress of Miraj**. The Sultân spent two months in pleasure and recreation in that open country; the troops also passed their time in ease and leisure.

After that the Sultân determined to conquer the country of the Konkan, and started with his army for that district, marching by stages, and hunting and shooting on the way. The soldiers hunted the tiger, and they emptied the face of the country as well as the air of wild beasts, pelicans and cranes.

When the Sultân — the cream of the race of Bahman — passed **Khârepatan**, the people of that district on becoming aware of his approach, left their dwellings, and from terror of the army fled to the mountain-tops and hills and interior parts and valleys. The troops plundered all the cattle and pastures of the Hindûs. The camp remained in that place nearly two months, the army resting from the fatigue of the march.

They then moved towards **Sagar** and when they encamped in its neighbourhood, all the feudal lands belonging to those forts and districts having been annexed to the Sultân's dominions, were assigned to the agents of the court, each of whom, according to his worth and rank, was distinguished by royal favours.

After that the Sultân crossed the river Bhîmâ and taking tribute from Sedam and Malkaid he advanced towards **Kalburgâ**.

Ḳîr Khân, who in tyranny and injustice exceeded Namrûd and Shidâd, hastened to wait on the Sulṭân and was distinguished by a robe of honour and other dignities; but after three days, by the seduction of the black-faced Kâlah Muḥammad, he fled from the royal army, and the Sulṭân himself went in pursuit of that impure, base one. The army and baggage of Kîr Khân being captured, suddenly a great flood came on the road and drowned most of his followers; but he himself being apart from them at the time, escaped, and with much difficulty reached **Kittûr.**

The Sulṭân having returned from the pursuit of Kîr Khân marched towards the fort of **Kalliâna** which was then occupied by Kâlah Muḥammad, who from his innumerable crimes was nicknamed the "black-faced." The Sulṭân being determined to take the place divided the different sides of the fortress among his troops, who formed a *cordon* round it; and the besieged were reduced to helplessness.

Sikandar Khân, whom on account of his valuable services and sincerity the Sulṭân had entitled "Farzand" (son), arrived in camp with a large force, and had the honour of making his obeisance. The Sulṭân treated Sikandar Khân with much courtesy, and further exalted him by the dignity of the Ruby Umbrella, and raised him in rank above all the other *amîrs* and *khâns*. The Sulṭân ordered him to proceed to Kittûr and lay waste the country of Kîr Khân, also to make him prisoner and bring him before the throne. Sikandar Khân swore by the dust of the Sulṭân's footstep that he would not return till he brought that promise-breaking old man bound as a malefactor before the foot of the throne.

Sikandar Khân then marched from the Sulṭân's camp with a large force, and proceeded towards Kittûr. News of his approach reached Kîr Khân; and when the army arrived within a *farsang* of Kittûr, Sikandar Khân was informed that Kîr Khân watching his opportunity had sallied out from the fort with a force of brave men skilled in fight, made his way to the army of Sikandar Khân and in one attack untied the knot of agglomeration of those who, Pleiades-like, were drawn up in a compact formation, causing them to become dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, and pursued them as they fled; but suddenly Sikandar Khân rushed out from a place of ambush and attacked Kîr Khân's force. In the midst of this battle Fakhr Sha'bân with some cavalry attacked Kîr Khân,

and the latter turned to repulse him. Fakhr Sha'bân, in order to draw him on pretended to run away, and Kîr Khân boldly hurried in pursuit; but in the meantime another party of Fakhr Sha'bân's friends having joined him they turned on their pursuers, and Kîr Khân being unable to cope with them wished to pluck his foot from the net of misfortune and the grasp of fate by taking to flight, but Fakhr Sha'bân caught him, and, grasping him by the hair dragged him along the ground. The troops of Kîr Khân endeavoured to release him, but failed, and at last they took to flight, leaving their leader in the net of misfortune. Fakhr Sha'bân then bound Kîr Khân and took him to Sikandar Khân. The latter was much pleased, and having written a report of the victory sent it by Fakhr Sha'bân to the court of the Sultân. Fakhr, in despach outstripping lightning and the wind, reached the camp of the Sultân on the second day, and informed him of the victory and the capture of Kîr Khân. The Sultân was delighted to hear this good news, and Fakhr obtained many marks of royal favour, and the drum of rejoicing was beaten in the camp.

A week afterwards the Sultân marched with his army towards Kittûr and when he arrived on that frontier, Sikandar Khân heard of his approach, and in accordance with his oath, he dragged Kîr Khân in chains to the foot of the royal throne. The Sultân loaded Sikandar Khân with distinctions, and ordered Kîr Khân to be denuded of the dress of life (put to death); but Sikandar Khân represented, saying :—"Since this old sinner is given to me, and your Majesty's camp is pitched at the foot of the fortress of Kittûr, if the people of this vile one repent and yield obedience, show regret for their tyranny and injustice, pay the past revenue and agree to pay the future revenue, well and good, but if not it will be perfectly easy to put him to a shameful death." According to the petition of Sikandar Khân the Sultân refrained from putting Kîr Khân to death, and the camp was pitched in sight of the fort of Kittûr.

In the midst of these affairs Kâlah Muhammad leaving Kulliânî went to the fort of Kittûr and fortified himself there : several times he boldly sallied from this fort and attacked the Sultân's army, throwing them into confusion, and when the royal troops tried to intercept them, they, like foxes in fear of the attack of

lions, took refuge in a hole in the fortress. But one day Kâlah Muḥammad, his fortune having turned against him, according to his past custom, came out of the fort with some of his troops and attacked the Sulṭân's army; but the latter intercepted them, and in one attack the sedition of that unfortunate, insignificant one was suppressed, his followers dispersed, and he himself made prisoner. According to a certain historian his figure was also relieved from the load of his head.

In this campaign the Sulṭân obtained two celebrated fortresses which reared their heads as high as heaven, namely, the forts of Kalliânî and Kittûr: in whatever direction he went he used to return victorious.

After these victories the Sulṭân set out on the march for **Kalburgâ**, the seat of government; and in that excellent city erected lofty buildings and giving it the name of **Aḥsanâbâd** selected it as the permanent dwelling-place of the throne. In some histories it is related that Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh took the city of Kalburgâ first of all, and afterwards proceeded to take Daulatâbâd and all the other towns. In any case, when Kalburgâ, Bîdar and Daulatâbâd with all their dependencies came into his possession, he was anxious to take all the other towns of the Dakhan. According to tradition the first victory which he gained was at **Bhokardhan**; as soon as he arrived there the *Râya* of that place presented him with three *laks* of rupees and agreed to pay the revenue into the royal treasury. From that place the Sulṭân marched towards **Mâhûr**, the *Râjâ* of which place also sent countless wealth to the victorious army, and so obtained immunity from assault. The army then moved towards the celebrated **Mândû**, and the people of that country also agreed to pay tribute and contribution, and were exempted from molestation.

Then the Sulṭân set out for his capital, Aḥsanâbâd, where he spent some time in pleasure and amusement, and the troops rested from the fatigue of the march.

[26][After that, the Sulṭân having conceived the idea of conquering the island of **Goa** as well as **Dâbhol** and all the sea-coast and ports, determined to proceed in that direction. After accom-

[26] This passage enclosed in brackets is entirely omitted in the Br. Mu. MS., probably by mistake on the part of the copyist.

plishing the journey the royal camp arrived in the neighbourhood of Goa, and they laid siege to the town, which after five or six months they succeeded in taking, and were gladdened by countless booty.

After taking Goa the Sultân moved towards Dâbhol, and obtained possession of that district also. Thence he crossed over towards **Kalhar**[27] **and Kolhâpûr**, where they also raised on high the banners of Islâm and overturned those of infidelity and error. Then the Sultân returned to his capital, Aḥsanâbâd, and took his ease in the permanent dwelling-place of the royal throne.]

2. After spending some time in pleasure in his capital, he was again desirous of conquering the country of **Tilang (Telingânâ)** and acquiring a name and reputation, [28][so orders were issued to the army to move in that direction. According to orders the army assembled and marched towards Telingânâ. The Sultân sent on in advance a number of his officers with scouts to devastate the country of the infidels whilst he followed in rear of them]. For nearly a year he travelled through the country of Telingânâ, and having taken possession of the district of Bhonâgîr he overthrew the idol-temples, and instead of them built mosques and public schools. When he had completed the conquest of Telingânâ he returned to his capital, and opening the doors of justice and kindness in the face of his subjects and soldiers acted generously towards all the inhabitants of the Dakhan.

3. At this period the Sultân had obtained possession of most of the cities and forts of the Dakhan; so that his dominions extended from the east side of Daulatâbâd to Bhonâgîr and the river Godâvarî — both north and south sides — to the river Gang [Wain Gangâ ?] and the west side of Kalburgâ to the river Kistnâ, and Ganhar (?) and Dâbhol and Goa. And the *râyas* on the further side of the Kistnâ becoming government landholders, agreed to pay tribute; and the Sultân assigned on feudal tenure to his ministers and nobles — to each according to his rank — the various districts and towns of Hindûstân which he had conquered. His own old district, which was

[27] Kalhar (*sic*) is frequently mentioned, and always in conjunction with Kolhâpur. I am inclined to think that Karâḍ is meant.

[28] This passage enclosed in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS., evidently by mistake on the part of the copyist. It is to be found in the Br. Mu. MS., fol. 24b.

Hukerî, Belgâon and Miraj, he entrusted to his eldest son Ẓafar Khân, whom he made his heir-apparent; and gave him the name of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh. Daulatâbâd he assigned to his sister's son, Bahrâm Khân (Mazindarânî); but when Barhâm Khân became established in Daulatâbâd, a vicious disposition and evil imagination became embedded in his vitals (and he said to himself):—"Since Daulatâbâd was the coronation-place of the Sulṭân, and has been assigned to me during his lifetime, it is evidently his intention to give me his place." With this idea in his head Bahrâm Khân became antagonistic and hypocritical.

2 At this time the Sulṭân had been ill for nearly three or four months, but Bahrâm Khân did not go to visit him, lest the Sulṭân should obtain an inkling of his intentions, and by issuing orders counter to his designs, render their accomplishment impossible. Such are briefly the particulars of this matter, which (please God!) will be mentioned hereafter in writing the history of Muḥammad Shâh.

3 After a reign of eleven years, two months and seven days the Sulṭân died.

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4 Shortly before his death the Sulṭân summoned his sons to his presence; and four princes like four strong pillars of the state, weeping tears of blood, presented themselves before their illustrious father, who embraced them, and as he looked at them wept bitterly at the thought of leaving them.

5 The Sulṭân in his will made **Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh** (who surpassed all the other sons in understanding and intelligence) his heir, and exhorted all his sons, near relations and army and subjects to obey him.

6 [29][The prince and all the nobles and generals put on clothes of blue and black as a sign of mourning. The lamentation, and cries reached the heavens, and the ceremonies of mourning were duly carried out.]

7 **Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh** was a just king and the cherisher of his people and pious. During his reign his subjects

[29] This passage, enclosed in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS., probably by mistake on the part of the copyist, but is given in the Br. Mu. MS., fol. 25 *b*, last line *et seq.*

and army used to pass their time in perfect ease and content; and he did much towards propagating the true faith. He had four sons, the eldest of whom, Muḥammad Shâh, became his father's heir, and was entitled Ẓafar Khân, which was the title of the Sulṭân himself.

[*The following interesting account of the origin of the Bahmanî Dynasty and the reign of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî is taken from the* **Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk**. *It differs considerably from all the other accounts; and is, perhaps, not of much historical value; still I think it would be a pity to omit it.*]

Let it not be concealed from the acute that concerning **the origin of the Bahmanî kings** I have seen many relations, some of which say that they derive their origin from Bahman, son of Isfandyâr, son of Gushtasb, one of the magnificent kings of Persia.

Another report is that the sovereignty of the Bahmanî kings dates from the time of **Ḥasan Gangû**. Now this Ḥasan Gangû was a youth of high descent, who by reverses of fortune was in very reduced circumstances.

One day he was sleeping in the desert under the shade of a tree. Gangû Pandit Bahman was passing near the spot, and saw the youth asleep. A cobra, the bite of which is known to be more deadly than that of the viper, holding a blade of green grass in its mouth close to Ḥasan Gangû's face, had raised its head from the ground and was driving off the flies from his face. The Brahmin who witnessed this circumstance, by his sagacity, discerned that some high dignity was in store for this Ḥasan. The snake remained there till Ḥasan awoke from his sleep, when it lowered its head and went on its way. The Brahmin then went up to Ḥasan and inquired about his origin. Ḥasan told him all about himself. Gangû Pandit then said to Ḥasan: — "A great dignity is in store for you." Ḥasan asked: — "What reason have you for making that statement?" He replied: — "From this circumstance which I have just witnessed, that while you were asleep a large snake came, and holding a blade of green grass in its mouth, drove away the flies from your face; when you awoke, it, servant-like, lowered its head and went away. A very high dignity will come to you since a noxious animal performs service such as that for you. In time to come I hope in all sincerity for some humble situation in your service; perhaps by the happy influence of your favour

I may obtain some post of honour; and I humbly petition that you will combine my name with your own, and that you and all your descendants will always sign your *farmáns* with the word "Bahmaní." Ḥasan agreed to this proposal, and used to write himself "Bahmanî," and eighteen of his successors who sat on the throne assumed the same surname.

Ḥasan Gangû held some situation in the service of the *shekh* entitled **Shekh Muḥammad Sirâj Junaidî** (May the blessing of God be on him!), and passed most of his time in his cell. One day the *shekh* was in the act of performing his ablutions in the village of Gangî, a suburb of Miraj, which is now known by the name of Murtazââbâd. The *shekh* having taken off the turban to wipe his head, Ḥasan Gangû took it up and placed it on his own head; upon which the *shekh* remarked:— "Ḥasan demands from me the crown of royalty."

When some time had passed in this way, Ḥasan one day complained of being in great want. The *shekh* said:—"*All things are bound to happen in their own time.*"

Since that country was the abode of infidels there was no *masjid* there, so the *shekh* founded one; and the Musalmâns with one accord gave the building to him.

By chance Ḥasan one day filled a large vessel with earth, and lifed it up: the *shekh* said:—"Ḥasan desires to lift the weight of the world."

One day the *shekh* was asleep, and as the sun was shining on him, Ḥasan sheltered him with his mantle. When the *shekh* awoke and perceived this he remarked:—"Ḥasan solicits from me the royal canopy."

Once, when Ḥasan's mother went to the *shekh* and represented to him some of the distress of their circumstances, the *shekh* told them to begin tilling the ground in a certain place, and their wishes would be fulfilled. According to the *shekh's* instructions they employed themselves in tilling the ground, and happening to find in it some indications and vestiges of mortar and stone, they gave information of this to the *shekh*. He replied:—"Give thanks to God Most High (glorified be his name!) that our desire is accomplished. "*If you give thanks, I will increase you.*'"

One night when Ḥasan was in his master's presence the *shekh* said:— "O king, collect an army and wage a religious war (*jihâd*) till you bring the country of the unbelievers into the pale of Islâm." Ḥasan replied: — "To wage war preparations are necessary, and at present I am poverty-stricken." The *shekh* said:— "God the Most Holy and Most High has bestowed on you a treasure." Then the *shekh*, taking Ḥasan with him, went to the piece of ground which he had told him to cultivate, and there disclosed the treasure. Ḥasan, by order of the *shekh*, took away as much as he required, expended it in raising an army, and then informed the *shekh* of what he had done. Gangû Pandit exerted himself very much in carrying out these services. Then the *shekh* said to Ḥasan: — "Be present on Friday, for it is the predestined day."

As soon as it was night Ḥasan presented himself, and having recited the *Fâtiḥah* with the army of the *shekh*, the latter tied a girdle round Ḥasan's waist, and directed him to proceed towards Miraj.

When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Miraj the governor of the fort was an infidel woman named Râṇî Durkâvatî. Unconscious of their approach she had gone out on a journey, and when they met an engagement ensued.

In this battle the Musalmâns being completely victorious Râṇî Durkâvatî was made prisoner, and the brave army of Islâm entered the fort of Miraj. A letter announcing the victory was sent to the *shekh*, who was much pleased at the news, and in reply desired them to call the fort Mubârakâbâd, as it was auspicious to them and the people of Islâm. This victory took place A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347). The *shekh* then said to them: — "Go on, for victory is on your side."

Having gained possession of Mubârakâbâd and the neighbouring districts round it the power and glory of the Musalmâns increased day by day. They quelled all disturbances in that part of the country; and having tranquillized their opponents, by the advice of the *shekh* they proceeded towards Kalburgâ.

When they arrived in that neighbourhood they observed the actions and motions of the garrison of the fort and its governor; and having ascertained the numerical strength of his army and the nature of his warlike preparations, they thought to themselves

that their small force was unequal to the task of taking the fort; and informed the *shekh* accordingly. He replied:—"On the night of Wednesday Parvan Râ,o will be going on a pilgrimage to his own idol-temple, which is situate at a distance of three *farsakhs*;[30] at that very time you should proceed to the fort, for the victory has already been given to you."

Ḥasan was delighted and kissed the feet of the *shekh*, and on the appointed night he went to the fort. The garrison, thinking it was Parvan Râ,o returning, opened the gate of the fort, and Ḥasan Gangû boldly entered and turned out the people of the fort. When this news reached Parvan Râ,o he was confounded; and returning from the temple engaged the army of Islâm. A fierce battle ensued, and the Muḥammadan troops poured a rain of arrows on the enemy, in the midst of which Parvan Râ,o was slain and the remnant of his army dispersed. They buried Parvan Râ,o's head near the gate of the fort, and the mark of the place still exists.

They named Kalburgâ "Aḥsanâbâd," and Ḥasan Gangû without further dispute being established on the throne of sovereignty in the city of Aḥsanâbâd, assumed the title of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Bahman Shâh. He made Gangû Pandit pre-eminent, and it was agreed between them that Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn and all his descendants should adopt the surname of "Bahman Shâh." This victory took place in A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347).

He reigned with wisdom and firmness for a period of thirteen years, ten months and twenty-seven days. **He died in the year 761 (A. D. 1359).**[31] He was constant in his discipleship to the *shekh*, and his example in this respect was followed by his successors.

His eldest son, Sulṭân Muḥammad, was appointed his successor.

CHAPTER II.

Reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmani.

After the death of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh and the completion of the mourning ceremonies, the royal crown was placed on the head of **Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh** in accordance

[30] About 10¼ miles.

[31] According to all the other accounts he reigned eleven years, two months and seven days, and died in A. H. 759.

with his father's will; and the nobles and grandees presented their congratulations and good wishes.

As soon as he was established on the throne, Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh turned his attention to the interior economy of his army and his subjects in general, and distributed valuable presents.

When he had finished inquiring diligently into the affairs of his soldiers and subjects, being desirous of conquering countries and cities, he conceived the idea of conquering the country of **Vijayânagar**, and accordingly marched towards that place with a large and well-equipped force.

The Râya of Vijayânagar, hearing of his approach, and being determined to oppose him assembled a numerous army and went out to meet the Sulṭân's force. When the two forces encountered one another the troops on both sides fought bravely, and a battle took place such that the eye of Heaven was bewildered and became clouded, and the face of the sun was obscured by the dust of battle. After much fighting the breeze of victory at last blew on the arms of the royal army, and the other side took to flight; but being pursued a great number of them were sent to hell. The Sulṭân plundered most of the country of the infidels, levelling their idol-temples with the ground, and much booty in rice, jewels, Arab horses and elephants fell into the hands of the Muḥammadan force.

After this victory the Sulṭân proceeded towards Fîlampatan (?), and by the aid of God having conquered that country also, he set out on the march to his capital with immense booty. On arriving there he was informed that **Bahrâm Khân, governor of Devagîr (Daulatâbâd)**, was in a state of rebellion, and as soon as he heard this the Sulṭân proceeded to oppose him. When the Sulṭân arrived near Devagîr Bahrâm Khân, being afraid to meet his attack, repented of his actions. At the intercession of Shekh Zain-ud-Dîn (hallowed be his grave!) the Sulṭân spared the life of Bahrâm Khân, but ordered him to be banished from the kingdom: this was done, and he afterwards, with a hundred griefs and disappointments, perished in the desert of desperation and regret.

In the *'Ayân-ut-Tawârîkh* it is stated that Sulṭân Muḥammad during his reign did not leave a single place in the Dakhan in possession of the infidels, and consequently ruled without competition.

The Sulṭân had two sons, Mujâhid Khân who was the heir-apparent, and Fatḥ Khân.

In the latter days of his reign, being seized with the desire of conquering Telingânâ the whole of the country came into the possession of the agents of his government.

On returning from that campaign the Sulṭân, after having reigned seventeen years and seven months, showed signs of an irreligious manner of living, which threw him on the bed of helplessness; and after making Prince Mujâhid Shâh his heir, he obeyed the summons of God.[32]

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh, son of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Din Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.

When Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh died in A. H. 775 (A. D. 1373), in accordance with his will, he was succeeded by his son, **Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh**, who bestowed presents and various honours on the nobles and officers.

While thus engaged the Sulṭân took it into his head to exterminate the infidelity of **Bijânagar** (Vijayânagar), and to wage a religious war against the infidels; so with a numerous army and elephants, and placing his confidence in the Beneficent King he proceeded towards Vijayânagar.

When the Râya, Kapazah,[33] who was the leader of the lords of hell, heard of the approach of the Sulṭân's army, being hopeless of retaining his life and possessions, was excessively terrified, and shut himself up in the fort. He acted towards the infidels of that country with such helplessness and perturbation that to small and great, young and old, in that calamity the road of management was blocked, and the truth of the saying that "an

[32] According to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk*, Sulṭân Muḥammad reigned 18 years, 7 months and 9 days, and died in the year 780 A. H.

[33] According to the genealogy of the Vijayânagar dynasty given by Mr. Sewell in his *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 103, the Râya of Vijayânagar at this period was Bukka or Bukka Mahîpatî, *alias* Râjendra, who reigned from A. D. 1350-1379. The word Kapazah is very distinctly written in the MS.: even the vowel marks are supplied. According to Firishtah the name of this Râya was Krishna. — *Vide* Briggs, Vol. II. p. 331 *et seq.*

earthquake is a great thing though it lasts but a little while," became a stern reality to the inhabitants of that part of the country. As a matter of necessity the above-mentioned Râya, Kapazah, sent to the court of Mujâhid Shâh a number of his most intelligent and distinguished officers; and they representing their weakness and despair, and professing obedience and submission, agreed to pay a large sum as *na'l-bahâ*[34] into the royal treasury; also to deliver over to the agents of the court the keys of the fortress which was the cause of hostilities and dispute. They also presented on behalf of the Râya, a written agreement to the following effect: — "To the Lord of happy conjunction I am a mean slave, and devote myself heart and soul to his service as long as I live." This agreement was made on condition that the Sultân should have pity on those helpless ones, and by his royal favour would insure their country against plunder and devastation by the troops.

After this the Sultân being encamped on the bank of the river Kistnah, and indulging in his favourite pursuits, drank cups of ruby-coloured wine; but suddenly Fortune poured the unpalatable *sharbat* of martyrdom into the goblet of his life. The particulars of this are briefly, as follows: —

Sultân Mujâhid Shâh had a younger brother, or — according to one history — a cousin,[35] named **Dâ,ûd Khân** who cherished a desire of usurping the throne; and though outwardly loyal he was secretly intriguing and watching his opportunity. This man with a number of seditious persons one night entered the inner apartment of the Sultân when the latter was asleep in bed, and stabbed him with a dagger. The nobles, and the troops, on hearing of the assassination of the Sultân, rent their clothes with grief.

The duration of the reign of Sultân Mujâhid Shâh was one year, one month and nine days. This event happened on the 18th of the month Zî-ul-Ḥijjah, A. H. 779 (17th April, A. D. 1377), but God only knows with accuracy!

Note to Chapter III.

[The following is the account of the reign of Sultân Mujâhid Shâh given in the *Tazkarat-ul Mulûk*.]

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[34] Money given to foreign troops to abstain from plunder and devastation.

[35] The latter appears to be the correct relationship, as we shall see a little further on. According to Firishtah, Dâ,ûd was Mujâhid's uncle.

Reign of Mujâhid Shâh Balwant Bahmani.

After his father's death **Mujâhid Shâh** ascended the throne. In the idiom of the Dakḥan he was called "**Balwant,**" that is, *strong-bodied*: he used to eat at one meal thirty *sêrs*, each *sêr* being equal in weight to seventy-two *dirhams*,[36] and he used to eat three meals a day, which makes ninety *sêrs* a day; but God only knows the truth!

Now the custom of the kings (of the Dakḥan) was this, that at the time when they ascended the throne of sovereignty **Shekh Muḥammad Sirâj-ud-Dîn** used to present a *pîrâhan* and turban which they put on, and then in an auspicious hour took their seat on the throne; and the same custom was observed at the ascension of Mujâhid.

Mujâhid used daily to repair to the monastery of the *shekh*, and discuss with him the affairs of state. One day he told the *shekh* that he contemplated waging a *jihâd* against the infidels in order to add splendour to the faith of Islâm. The *shekh* recited the *fâtihat* and expressed his approval. Mujâhid daily busied himself in organising his army, and then proceeded against the fort of **Adoni** with a large force, and laid siege to it for a year, when the garrison running short of water asked for quarter; and the governor of the fort came out and after obtaining a written treaty, returned to the fort with Mujâhid Shâh's deputy in order to evacuate and surrender the fort.

It is said that one of the servants of the *shekh* said to the latter:— "Mujâhid Shâh has taken from you an assurance of victory, and from others also has obtained the glad tidings of victory." The *shekh* replied:— "I have withdrawn my assurance of victory. This servant then took a letter from the *shekh* to this effect to Mujâhid Shâh, and repeated to him what the *shekh* had said. When Mujâhid understood the contents of the letter he produced it in court and said:— "My ancestors were void of understanding when they gave regal power to these *fakîrs* who are always hungry and thirsty: what affinity have we with them? Ask the *shekh* what he means by this presumptuous talk. I shall teach him better manners." The servant replied:— "If this be your intention you will never attain this victory."

[36] A *dirham* = 48 grains.

On that same night heavy rain fell, and the fort became well supplied with water. The garrison regretted having made peace, and applied themselves to strengthening the fort. They cut off the head of Mujâhid Shâh's deputy, and putting it into a gun, fired it towards the army of Mujâhid Shâh.

When Mujâhid heard of the resistance of the garrison he returned to the city of Aḥsanâbâd, and encamped outside in order that he might enter it on the following day at an auspicious hour. He uttered many threats against the followers of the *shekh*; and there were many Habshîs in the trains of the nobles and others, and they having done something which roused the anger of Mujâhid, he uttered threats against them also, and they were in much fear of him. Next day Mujâhid was found on the throne without his head, and it was believed that this deed was perpetrated by *jinns*. The disciples of the *shekh* would not allow the body of Mujâhid to be buried in the tomb of the kings, but he was buried near it.

CHAPTER IV.

Reign of Dâ,ûd Shâh.

According to the most authentic accounts **Sulṭân Dâ,ûd Shâh** was son of Maḥmûd Khân, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.[37]

After the martyrdom of Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh, the *amîrs* and ministers and officers of the army *nolens volens* plighted their fealty to Dâ,ûd Shâh, and accepted him as their sovereign; but the widow, or (according to one history) the foster-sister of Mujâhid Shâh, was determined upon revenge; so she bribed one of the Sulṭân's slaves with a thousand *huns* and a promise of more, to assassinate the king. Enticed by the bribe, he agreed to undertake this dangerous affair, and was watching his opportunity till on a Friday when the Sulṭân went to prayer in the *masjid* and the people were crowding on one another, that fearless shedder of blood and devoted slave approached the Sulṭân and caused him to taste the same *sharbat* as Sulṭân Mujâhid Shâh.[38]

[37] According to Firishtah Dâ,ûd was son — not grand-son — of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan.

[38] Assassinated him.

Muḥammad Khân, son of Maḥmûd Khân, and younger brother of the Sulṭân, was present in the crowd, and he felled the murderer to the ground with one blow of his sword, and despatched him from the world. He then returned to the palace, and seated himself on the throne in his brother's place. The nobles, ministers, learned men and *shekhs* hastening to wait on him, saluted him as king and were all liberally rewarded.

This event happened in the month of Muharram, A. H. 780 (May, A. D. 1378),[39] but God only knows the truth of the matter.

CHAPTER V.

Reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, son of Maḥmûd Khân, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmani.[40]

The nobles and military officers having acknowledged **Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh** as their sovereign, placed the royal crown on his head and seated him on the throne. The ministers of state, great men of the court and those learned in the law, all obtained honours and rewards suitable to their rank and circumstances.

He was a king adorned with the ornament of intelligence and understanding and decorated with the jewel of justice and equity. In his time the people were at rest on the reclining-place of safety and security. In his age the dagger of tyranny and the sword of injustice rotted in their scabbards. In his reign there was no vestige of unlawful things; and habits of iniquity and impiety were removed from his time. He founded *masjids*, public schools

[39] According to Firishtah it happened on the 21st Muharram, 780, which corresponds to the 20th May, 1378, A. D. The author of the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* says he reigned one year, one month and three days, which exactly agrees with the *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir;* but Firishtah only gives him a reign of one month and five days.

[40] There is here a serious discrepancy between our author and Firishtah. According to the latter, the fifth king of the dynasty was Mahmûd, son of 'Alâ-ud-Dîn I.; but Firishtah must be wrong, for the coinage shows that the name of the Bahmanî king reigning at this period was *Muḥammad*. Histories written quite independently of Firishtah — such as the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* and *Târîkh-i-Jahân Ârâ* — also corroborate the statement of our author. Dr. O. Codrington has recently written about this in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (3rd Series, Vol. XVIII pages 259-273), and quotes a letter of mine on the subject.

and monasteries, and never permitted any receding or swerving from the straight road of rectitude and justice and the highway of the divine law. He held fast all the country which had come into the possession of his illustrious grandfather and his paternal uncle; and from partisans or friends in those parts no rebellion or sedition showed itself, and they never swerved from the road of obedience and subjection. The Sultân did not lead any army in any direction, but spread the carpet of justice and liberality, and so engaged himself in the requisites of self-evident duty and prohibiting unlawful things that no one had an opportunity of deviating from the beaten path of the divine law.

It is related that during the reign of this just king a certain woman, being charged with the disgraceful act of adultery, was taken for trial to the *kâzi's* court. On the way there an artifice occurred to the woman's mind, and when she was presented before the *kâzi*, being questioned as to her reason for committing that disgraceful act, she replied: — "O *kâzi*, a doubt has occurred to me on this point: Is each man permitted by the precepts of religion to have four wives? My opinion was that women might act in the same manner: now that I am aware of its impropriety, I am ashamed of the deed, and repent." The *kâzi*, astonished at her answer, remained silent; and that sinful impostor being freed from punishment hastened to her house.

During his reign Sultân Muḥammad promoted Khwâjah Jahân — who was one of the *amîrs* of his illustrious grandfather — to the rank of Vakîl and Amir-ul-Umrà; and Saiyid Tâj-ud-Din Jakâjût, son of Saiyid Razî-ud-Din Kuṭb-ul-Mulk, after his father, obtained from the Sultân the title of Kuṭb-ul-Mulk.

After a reign of nineteen years and nine months, or — according to another account — nineteen years and six months, this just king died.

This event occurred on the 26th of the month Rajab, A. H. 799 (25th April, A. D. 1397).[41]

Sultân Muḥammad Shâh had two sons — Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Din Muḥammad Shâh and Sultân Shams-ud-Din Dâ,ûd Shâh, both of whom reigned in their turn.[42]

[41] According to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* he died in A. H. 801 after a reign of nineteen years, six months and five days.

[42] I cannot understand the name *Dó,ud* being added to Shams-ud-Din's name.

CHAPTER VI.

Reign of Abû-l-Muẓaffar Sulṭân Ghiyâṣ-ud-Dîn wa ud-Dunyâ Bahman Shâh, son of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, son of Maḥmûd, son of ʿAlâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.

After the death of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, the generals, the *amîrs* and *wazîrs*, the learned men and the suite and servants of the court having consented to the accession of **Sulṭân Ghiyâṣ-ud-Dîn**, who had travelled but twelve stages of his life,[43] they raised the regal umbrella over his head, and all joined in the honour of pledging their loyalty and tendering their congratulations. The Sulṭân, notwithstanding his tender age, distinguished the nobles and grandees by royal courtesy, and presented them with robes of honour and various gifts; and having renewed for the nobles the *farmâns* under which they held their feudal lands, and bestowed on them countless dignities, confirmed them in their former possession in the country. He then busied himself in the arrangement of various important affairs of the country and nation.

Sulṭân Ghiyâṣ-ud-Dîn busied himself in improving the position of his father's slaves, and gave them too loose a rein. One of these, named **Tughalbakhî**,[44] he exalted above all the nobles; consequently he turned the reins from the side of rectitude: and as the Sulṭân had removed some of his father's nobles, it occurred to this man that the Sulṭân might do the same to the slaves; he therefore took steps to remedy the eventuality before its occurrence. Under the pretext of an entertainment he took the Sulṭân to his own house, and there with a red hot skewer deprived him of his sight. He then deposed the Sulṭân, and raised to the throne the younger brother of the latter, named Sulṭân Shams-ud-Dîn.

This event happened on the 17th of the month Ramaẓân, A. H. 799 (14th June, A. D. 1396), and the duration of the Sulṭân's reign was one month and eight days; but God Almighty alone knows the truth of things!

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[43] *I. e.*, he was twelve years old. According to Firishtah he was in his seventeenth year at his accession.

[44] It is difficult to say what is the correct spelling of this name. In some places it looks like *Baghalji*.

CHAPTER VII.

Reign of Sultân Shâms-ud-Dîn Dâ,ûd Shâh, son of Sultân Mujâhid Shâh, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.[45]

When the faithless Tughalbakhî, with the concurrence of the nobles, deprived Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn of his sight by means of a skewer, he — with the approval of the nobles and ministers, *shekhs* and learned men and grandees of the country and nation — seated on the throne of sovereignty **Sultân Shâms-ud-Dîn**, who had not yet travelled seven stages on the journey of life;[46] but he kept the reins of power in his own hands, so that Shams-ud-Dîn was Sultân in name only.

Fîrûz Khân and Aḥmad Khân, grandsons of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh, who were worthy of the sovereignty, and eventually in their own persons added ornament and beauty to the crown and throne were faithful in their allegiance to Sultân Shams-ud-dîn; but Tughalbakhî and all the slaves of the Sultân, who were inimical to them, were always plotting to remove them in order to usurp the sovereignty for themselves. In consequence of this the two princes were obliged to fly to the fort of **Sagar**. The *kotwâl* who had charge of this fort received the princes in a friendly manner and promised them all the assistance in his power. He joined them with a large number of retainers of those parts, and they proceeded against Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn. But when the two parties met, the Kotwâl of Sagar proved faithless.

The nobles of Sultân Shams-ud-Dîn, deeming it advisable by promises of aid to the princes to endeavour to sprinkle extinguishing water on the fire of rebellion and contention which was fiercely burning, sent a trustworthy person to Fîrûz Khân and Aḥmad Khân with a written treaty of peace; and since the princes saw the most prudent course was to abandon contention and submit themselves they waited on the Sultân and folded up the carpet of strife.

When some time had thus passed, the idea of getting rid of the two princes again occurred to the minds of the slaves. The

[45] This heading is evidently wrong. It should be, — "Reign of Shams-ud-Dîn Shâh, son of Muḥammad II., son of Maḥmûd Khân, son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî." Mujâhid does not appear to have had any son.

[46] According to Firishtah he was in his fifteenth year.

heart of the mother of the Sulṭân still burned with the remembrance of the fate of Sulṭân Ghiyâṣ-ud-Dîn, and the slaves persuaded her that Fîrûz Khân and Aḥmad Khân were the cause of that base action. On this account the Sulṭân's mother conceived hatred against the two princes and set herself in opposition to them. The foster-sister of the Sulṭân, who was called Makhdûmah Jahân, was the wife of Fîrûz Khân, and she having obtained information of this plot immediately hurried home and informed her husband. Fîrûz Khân and his brother then held counsel together; and most of the principal *umîrs*, such as Khwâjah Jahân, Azhdar Khân, Malik Shahâb, Saiyid Tâj-ud-dîn Jakâjût, Kutb-ul-Mulk and others who were vexed and distressed by the despotic power of the slaves, united together, and arranged that on the following day they were to go to the palace with a number of armed men, and before the slaves should hear of it, to seize and imprison the Sulṭân and seat Sulṭân Fîrûz on the throne.

Next day Sulṭân Fîrûz and Sulṭân Aḥmad with a multitude of followers mounted and proceeded to the court; and after posting a number of their adherents at each door went on till they found the Sulṭân, whom they seized and imprisoned, and Sulṭân Fîrûz took his place on the throne.

In most histories it is stated that this event occurred on the 23rd Ṣafar, A. H. 800 (14th February, A. D. 1397). Sulṭân Shams-ud-Dîn reigned for the space of five months and seven days.

CHAPTER VIII.

Reign of Sulṭân-i Ghâzîan Tâj-ud-Dunyâ wa ud-Dîn Abû-l-Muẓaffar Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh, son of Aḥmad Khân, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Bahmanî.[47]

After the deposition and imprisonment of Sulṭân Shams-ud-Dîn, on the same day **Sulṭân Fîrûz** placed the royal crown on his head and seated himself on the throne. The *umîrs*, *wazîrs*, *saiyids*, *shekhs* and learned men hastened to salute him, and obtained the felicity of kissing his feet; and his companions in adversity were eloquent in their congratulations and praises.

[47] According to Firishtah, Fîrûz and Aḥmad were sons of Dâ,ûd.

Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh having imprisoned Tughalbakhî and the other conspirators, honoured the nobles and generals with sumptuous robes of honour and numerous presents, and promoted his adherents. He conferred on his brother, **Aḥmad Khân**, the title of **Khân Khânân**; and **Khwâjah Jahân**, who previous to this held an office under government, he confirmed in the same employment. For the *amîrs* and those holding lands on feudal tenure he sent *farmâns* and robes of honour, and the revenue affairs were carried on as formerly. He behaved with justice, kindness and liberality towards his troops and subjects, and being determined to use his best endeavours in the suppression of infidelity and the strengthening of the Faith, he contemplated the conquest of the kingdom of Vijayânagar; so in a short time he marched an army in that direction and subdued and killed the infidels of those parts.

Devadâr (Devarâja ?), who was the chief (*muḳaddam*) of those infidels, sent a person to the Sulṭân's court, and representing their weakness and despair, penitently asked for pardon, and stated that if the Sulṭân would draw the pen of forgiveness through the pages of their offences, and secure them against his royal displeasure and wrath they would pay into the public treasury the sum of thirty-three *laks* of *tankahs*, and that each year a fixed sum should be sent to the foot of the royal throne, taking a receipt from the court auditor of accounts. The Sulṭân having washed with the limpid water of forgiveness and condonation the registers of offences of those penitent people, took from the Râya of Vijayânagar the sum agreed upon, and then quickly returned in triumph to his capital, where he spent nearly a year in enjoying himself.

After that, the desire of waging a *jihâd* against the cities and towns of the infidels having entered the Sulṭân's mind, in the beginning of the year 802 (A. D. 1399), he ordered a large army to be assembled, and on an auspicious day he marched towards the fort of **Sagar**. When the chiefs of that district heard of the Sulṭân's approach they tendered their submission and paid the revenue of the country into the royal treasury, and so remained secure from attack by the army.

[Since the Sulṭân in the neighbourhood of Sagar, by his good fortune and the influence of his fresh and numerous victories

obtained the submission of the *zamîndârs* and *Râyas* of those parts, he gave to Sagar the name of Nusratâbâd.][48]

When he had received the thirty-three *laks* of *tankah*—which was the sum fixed for payment by the Râya of Vijayânagar—his desires being accomplished, and his important affairs carried to a successful issue, he returned towards his capital; and, having encamped for some time on the bank of the river Jahnûr[49] which is near Kalburgah and is commonly known as the Bhanûr he founded a city there, and that city was commonly known as Fîrûzâbâd.

In this year (A. H. 802 = A. D. 1399) Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz (long locks),[50] with a number of disciples and darvishes

[48] This passage in brackets is omitted in the I. O. MS.

[49] Evidently the river Bhîmâ.

[50] This famous Muḥammadan saint was born at Dilli on the 4th Rajab, A. H. 721 (30th July, A. D. 1321). His proper name is Ṣadr-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Ḥussainî, but he was commonly called Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz, on account of his having long ringlets. He was a disciple of Shekh Naṣîr-ud-Dîn Chirâgh of Dilli, who sent him to the Dakhan in A. H. 802 (A. D. 1399) during the reign of Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh Bahmanî. The latter received him with much honour and respect, but afterwards quarrelled with him, and to this disagreement with the saint the author of the *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir* attributes the subsequent misfortunes of Sulṭân Fîrûz.

Firishtah tells us that Sulṭân Aḥmad, in the early part of his reign, showered favours on the venerable *saiyid*; and as the people generally follow the example of their king, the inhabitants of the Dakhan chose him for their guide in religious affairs, so that his residence became a place of pilgrimage to all sects. The king withdrew his favour from the family of Shekh Sirâj-ud-Dîn, and conferred it on that of the holy *saiyid*, to whom he granted in perpetuity several towns, villages and extensive lands near Kalburgâ, and built for him a magnificent college and monastery not far from the city. The people of the Dakhan had such a respect for the saint that a Dakhanî, on being once asked whom he considered the greater personage, the Prophet Muḥammad or the *saiyid*, replied, with some surprise at the question, that although the Prophet was undoubtedly a great man, yet Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû Darâz was a far superior order of being.

He died at Kalburgâ on the 16th of Ẓî-ul-Ḳa'dah, A. H. 825 (1st November, A. D. 1422) at the age of a hundred years. His *daryâh* (shrine) is still to be seen at Kalburgâ, and a chronogram recording the date of his death is inscribed on it. The verses are translated as follows by Professor Eastwick (*Murray's Handbook*, 2nd edition, p. 359):—

"Like that of Gîsû Darâz the Dakhan boasts no shrine!

"Gîsû Darâz! the empire of Islâm and of this world are thine!"

The date of the saint's death is given in the symbolical letters which compose the words

مخدوم دین و دنیا

Lord of the Faith and of the World.

A much longer *târîkh*, giving the day of the month as well as the year of his death and ending in the same words, is given in the *Miftaf-ut-Tawârîkh*, p. 114.

came from Dihlî to the Dakhan, and by his honoured presence made Kalburgâ the envy of heaven.

The Sultân was rejoiced to hear of the *shekh's* arrival, and sent some learned men to wait, and requesting information about him, to inform the Sultân of the truth of the matter. They visited him according to the Sultân's orders, and found him perfect in all kinds of sciences and miracles; so they hastened to the Sultân and informed him of what they had found. This being the means of increasing the Sultân's belief he hankered after the society of that perfect instructor, and in ceremonious and respectful treatment neglecting not the smallest trifle, he assigned several cultivated lands to him as reward. Some have said that in the first interview between the Sultân and Saiyid Muhammad Gîsû-darâz an altercation occurred which used to increase day by day up to the time when, according to the revolution of fate, the Sultân was deposed; and that it was owing to his want of attention to that cream of his race that he experienced the misfortunes which he did, as will presently be related.

The Sultân again conceiving the idea of waging a religious war against the infidels of the country of Vijayânagar, despatched an army in that direction. When they arrived there the troops opened the hand of slaughter and plunder, and threw the fire of chastisement among the infidel inhabitants of that country. By force of arms they conquered several of the districts of Bhanûr and Musalakal. The Sultân having appropriated the fixed sum of thirty-three *laks* returned to his capital with immense booty; and after spending nearly a year there, liberally bestowing largess, he again assembled his army and moved towards Mâhûr; but finding that fortress excessively strong and surrounded by an almost impenetrable jungle, he was obliged to make peace with the Râya of that place, and after exacting from him a large sum by way of tribute and contribution, returned to his capital.

At this time two slaves named **Hûshyâr and Bidâr** who by royal favours and rank were distinguished above all the courtiers, had various dignities conferred on them and most of the important affairs of government and the army were conducted according to their judgment and opinion. Bîdâr was given the title of **Nizâm-ul-Mulk,** and Hûshyâr that of **'Ain-ul-Mulk.**

In the midst of these affairs Khwâjah Jahân, to whom, owing to his sagacity, the affairs of government had been committed, bid farewell to this perishable world, and his rank also was conferred on Bîdâr and Hûshyâr.

The Sultân being determined to conquer Telingânâ proceeded in that direction till having got near Râjâmundrî he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken possession of the whole of that territory he consigned it to agents of government, and then set out for his capital.

It is related that this sovereign during the period of his reign, which was twenty-five years and a fraction, made twenty-three (or twenty-four, according to other accounts — but God only knows secrets accurately!) expeditions against the districts and cities of the infidels, and plundered and devastated the countries of those accursed ones; and every year exacted from the infidels of Vijayânagar the sum of thirty-three *laks* of *tankah*, as originally fixed; and from Telingânâ to Râjâmundrî and from Vijayânagar to Râichûr the whole country was conquered by his army. In the latter days of his reign, the Sultân, who was nearly seventy years of age, and apparently much reduced in strength, was still strong in guarding the religion of Islâm and the Faith of the Prophet; and notwithstanding his weakness, he had sufficient strength to undertake *jihâds* against the infidels.

Towards the end of his reign he was compelled once more to march against Vijayânagar, and was determined to take the fort of **Pângal**, which is one of the strongest and most celebrated of that district; but while he was on the way there, a body of troops of the accursed devils opposed the royal army with much bravery, and did not fall short in the fight; but after a severe struggle the Sultân's army was victorious: the infidels were defeated, and the world was cleared from the pollution of their impure existence, and immense booty fell into the hands of the victorious army. The Sultân sent to his capital despatches announcing the victory, and then marched against the fortress of Pângal which he besieged; but the garrison bravely sallied out and made a night attack on the Sultân's camp. In this fight fortune turned against the arms of the Muhammadans, and many of the true believers lost their lives. The army of Islâm being completely defeated the Sultân marched from that place, halting nowhere till he reached

the village of Ittakûr and those accursed impious people made *chabûtaras* with the (dead bodies of the) Musalmân leaders. Owing to this defeat the physical weakness of the Sultân was increased; and many people believed that the defeat was due to the change of feelings of Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz.

When the Sultân having halted for some time at Ittakûr had somewhat recovered from his vexation he turned towards his capital; and settling down there went on no more expeditions, but spent his time in prayer, charity and good works and promoting the happiness of his people; and resigned the affairs of government to Bîdâr Niẓâm-ul-Mulk and Hûshyâr 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

Whoever sees authority in his hands is sure some day to rebel and aim at supremacy; and great men have said that the foundations of service of low-born people are fear and hope: when they lose fear and feel themselves secure they make turbid the fountain of loyalty; and when, by the acquisition of their desires, they become independent, the fire of ingratitude and sedition is kindled. It behoves a king, therefore, not to so exclude them from his benevolence, that being without hope they should side with his enemies; and at the same time not to give them so much favour and power that they should conceive the idea of independence and rebellion; and sages have said that to cherish an ignoble person is to demean one's self and to lose the thread of one's own actions.

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Such was the case with **Bîdâr and Hûshyâr**, who owing to the natural blackness and envy of their dispositions as well as by their elevation had injured the good fortune of Sultân Fîrûz.

These two inconsiderate *wazîrs* used always to be hypocritical towards **Khân Khânân** and wished to exclude him from the succession. Khân Khânân was the Sultân's brother, and owing to his understanding, mildness of disposition, generosity, bravery and other good qualities the hearts of all the nobles, ministers and subjects, and most of the army were inclined towards him, and were anxious to make him Sultân; but Hûshyâr and Bîdâr persuaded the Sultân — who never failed to follow their advice — to make his eldest son, Ḥasan, the heir and present him with the royal canopy and give him the title of **Ḥasan Shâh**. But not content even with this, they formed a plot, and represented to the

Sulṭân that until the kingdom was free from the power of Khân Khânân, Ḥasan Shâh could never sit on the throne; also that Khân Khânân was always carrying favour with the subjects and the army, and that all the courtiers and populace were his well-wishers. Having no other resource Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh countenanced the plot against Khân Khânân; and though, on account of his near relationship he was unwilling to put him to death, yet he consented to have him blinded. But Shîr Khân, who was son of the Sulṭân's sister, having gained intelligence of this scheme, hastened to Khân Khânân and represented to him the position of affairs. Khân Khânân promised to fly, and with his eldest son Ẓafar Khân — who, after his father, aspired to the sovereignty — waited on Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz to ask his aid in attaining his objects and desires. The Saiyid received them with much honour and respect, and ordering food to be brought gave them to eat. He then with the hand of blessing himself tied turbans on their heads and predicted sovereignty for both of them. Khân Khânân, assisted and inspired with hope, then took leave of that illustrious man, went to his house and with a number of trustworthy attendants prepared for flight. Just then a merchant from Lahsâ called **Khalf Ḥasan** (who afterwards in the reign of Sulṭân Aḥmad obtained the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr, and who was celebrated for his great bravery and generosity), having this year brought Arab horses for sale to the government and having received a portion of the price of them, paid a visit to **Sulṭan Aḥmad.** When by his shrewdness he became aware of the contemplated flight of Aḥmad Shâh, he reminded him of the days of their friendly companionship as well as the requirements of sincerity and fidelity, and vowed to serve him at the risk of his life.

On the night when the Sulṭân (Aḥmad) intended going forth, Khalf Ḥasan was present at the door of Sulṭân Aḥmad's house. Suddenly the latter with four hundred faithful and fully-equipped attendants issued from the house with the intention of flight. Khalf Ḥasan coming forward saluted him with the title of "Sulṭân." Aḥmad gathered a good omen from this salutation, and said to Khalf Ḥasan:—"Go to your house with all speed, for you are a merchant and a stranger, and if anyone sees you with me your property may be plundered and even your life sacrificed on account of me." Khalf Ḥasan replied:—"At the time of ease and

leisure to be a companion and confidant, and in the days of adversity to sprinkle the dust of inconstancy in the eyes of manhood and turn one's back on one's benefactor is contrary to the requirements of religion and manliness and is abhorrent to the disposition of an Arab or Persian : as long as there is life and breath in my body Heaven forbid that I should ride far from your stirrup ! Kings, in their numerous important affairs have need of ministers, so it is possible that eventually some business needing the assistance of inferiors may ensue. For the work done by the weak needle the head-exalting spear after all is inferior to it ; and the sword is amazed at the work accomplished by the slender pen-knife ; and a servant, however worthless and untrustworthy he may be, is not without his uses in averting injury and blows."

Sulṭân Aḥmad, highly approving of the sincerity and faithfulness of Khalf Ḥasan regarded this also as a proof of his own future good fortune, and said to Khalf Ḥasan :— "If the sovereignty comes into my grasp you shall be a partner in my good fortune, and be requited for the fidelity and kindness which you have shown towards me."

Sulṭân Aḥmad with his adherents then left Kalburgâ and proceeded towards Telingânâ.

When the news of the flight of Sulṭân Aḥmad was noised abroad in the city, Hûshyâr and Bîdâr awaking from the sleep of negligence,[51] in a state of perplexity and helplessness waited on the Sulṭân, and asked permission to pursue Khân Khânân. The Sulṭân, owing to his near relationship and the bonds of fraternity, was unwilling to do so, and said :— "Wherever Khân Khânân through fear of his life may have hidden himself, it seems best to leave him alone." The unhappy Hûshyâr and Bîdâr having gained over some of the nobles again represented to the Sulṭân, saying :— "The departure of Sulṭân Aḥmad will be the cause of endless rebellion and sedition ; it is therefore advisable to send people in pursuit of him, and prevent his assembling a force, and to throw the stone of separation among his adherents, so that the idea of rebellion may not enter his mind ; for if he succeeds in collecting a large force it will be difficult to deal with him."

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[51] A clever play on words :—
هشیار و بیدار از خواب غفلت بیدار گشته

Since the power of Hûshyâr and the senseless Bîdâr[62] had arrived at such a stage that the Sulṭân had no choice in the matter, he maintained silence. Hûshyâr and Bîdâr with thirty elephants and 20,000 horse went in pursuit of Sulṭân Aḥmad, and by doing so injured the reputation of Fîrûz and made themselves the butt of the arrows of the accidents of the time. For every affair of consequence founded upon deception and treachery inevitably ends in destruction and regret; and the sages have said:— "The most foolish of men are those who awaken sleeping tumult."

* * * * *

Sulṭân Aḥmad had stopped two days in **Ni'matâbâd**, when at the middle hour between sun-rise and meridian[63] a cloud of dust arose on the road and a portion of the royal army with the elephants came in view, upon which Sulṭân Aḥmad proposed retreating without offering any opposition; but Khalf Ḥasan went up to him and said:—

"To leave the battle-field without a wound is shabby; let his Highness wait a little till his slave exposes himself in battle and strives his utmost."

It fortunately happened that a band of cattle-hirers *(mukariân)* —called Banjârahs in the dialect of Hindûstân— had halted in the neighbourhood of that place, having with them a great number of bullocks. Sulṭân Aḥmad, on the principle that "War is fraud,"[64] having thought of a stratagem, purchased the whole of their bullocks at a high price, and after tying cloths on their horns, arranged a troop of these bullocks facing the enemy, while he himself advanced with 400 well-equipped cavalry. The plan was, fortunately, as successful as he anticipated. A portion of the Sulṭân's force, which fell upon the bullocks, at sight of them being completely overcome with terror, stood still and then fell back on the others as Sulṭân Aḥmad and Khalf Ḥasan attacked them. An elephant of mountain-like body and demon-like aspect was foremost in the royalist force; Khalf Ḥasan threw a spear and hit it in the trunk, upon which the elephant turned on its own ground and took to flight,

[62] Another clever pun:—
بشیار و بیدار نابشیار

[63] *Châsht-gâh*, breakfast time.

[64] الحرب خدعة *i. e.*, stratagem is necessary in war.

and the royalists seeing this, also turned and fled. Sulṭân Aḥmad pursued them, and the generals seeing their only resource was submission, came forward from their troops, and throwing themselves from their horses, respectfully kissed the ground before Sulṭân Aḥmad in token of submission. The Sulṭân treated them courteously and made them hopeful of his favour. He took possession of all the elephants, horses and baggage of Hûshyâr and Bîdâr; and those two men — unsuccessful and discomfited like their own fortune — were soon put to death by the troops.

After that, Sulṭân Aḥmad with a large army set out on the march for Kalburgâ; and at every stage — nay, even at every step — *amîrs* with their horsemen and retinue vied with one another in hastening to pay their respects to him, and were rendered happy by kissing the ground in submission to him, and were enrolled among his adherents.

When the news of the approach of Sulṭân Aḥmad was passed on, the sons and slaves of Sulṭân Fîrûz made him *nolens volens* mount and go out of the city to give him battle. Historians have related that one day Sulṭân Fîrûz having collected 7,000 cavalry went out of **Kalburgâ** with the intention of fighting Sulṭân Aḥmad, but next day, on investigation, only 3,000 remained, the rest having hastened off to join Sulṭân Aḥmad. When Sulṭân Fîrûz saw the state of affairs, abandoning all idea of opposition, he returned to Kalburgâ, and with the tongue of inspiration uttered these words: — "When my good fortune was in the ascendant, each time that I rode forth from the city such an army used to assemble at my heaven-like court that calculators, through inability, used to abandon the attempt to compute its numbers; but to-day, when fortune has turned against me and the throne of sovereignty has become the prize of another, seven thousand horse become one thousand."

When the news of the return of Sulṭân Fîrûz to the city reached Sulṭân Aḥmad, hastening to traverse the intervening distance he alighted near a place of prayer of Kalburgâ, and Sulṭân Firuz sent the *saiyids* and learned men of the state to him with the keys of the fortress.

In an hour's time Sulṭân Aḥmad of fortunate aspect — like his own auspicious fortune — arrived at the court; and acting in the

same ceremonious and respectful manner which had been his former habit, he alighted at his brother's door, and in his accustomed manner saluted Sulṭân Fîrûz who was seated on the royal throne, and then stood in his old place; but Sulṭân Fîrûz descended from the throne and caught his brother to his breast, and they wept together for some time. Sulṭân Aḥmad pleading excuses made many apologies, saying:—"This boldness was due to fear of my life." Sulṭân Fîrûz said:—"Praise be to God that the sovereignty has fixed its residence in its own house: I have been to blame in that while having a brother such as you, I nominated another for the sovereignty; but since the Creator of the World has willed that it is to remain in our family, I now desire that you should treat your nephew Ḥasan Khân kindly, and that according to approved usages you should settle **Fîrûzâbâd** upon him and his heirs for ever, and make no change in this arrangement; for it is fitting that the fruit of the friendship which has always existed between me and you should show itself in our posterity."

When Sulṭân Fîrûz had finished the expression of his testamentary wishes he took the sword from his waist, and binding it on that of Sulṭân Aḥmad, took him by the arm and seated him on the throne.

Shortly after his **abdication Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh** died, and this event happened on the 11th Shawwâl, A. H. 825 (28th September 1422 A. D.).

As to the cause of the death of this monarch of exalted dignity various accounts are related; but the most authentic is that Shîr Khân, son of the Sulṭân's sister, convinced Sulṭân Aḥmad that the existence of Sulṭân Fîrûz would give rise to sedition; and that since it is impossible for two swords to be in one scabbard, so also it is impossible for two kings to exist in one place. Led astray by the arguments of Shîr Khân, Sulṭân Aḥmad consented to have Fîrûz Shâh put to death, and on the date above mentioned he employed some men to strangle him; but God only knows the truth of the matter.

Sulṭân Fîrûz was an impetuous and a mighty monarch, and expended all his ability and energy in eradicating and destroying tyranny and heresy, and he took much pleasure in the society of

shekhs, learned men and hermits. His reign lasted twenty-five years, seven months and eleven days.

After the death of Sulṭân Fîrûz, Sulṭân Aḥmad sent Ḥasan Khân and all the other sons of the late king, in accordance with his will, to Fîrûzâbâd, and assigned that city to them; but in a short time Ḥasan Khân also bid farewell to this transitory world and joined his illustrious father.[55]

Note to Chapter VIII.

[The following is the account of the reign of Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh given in the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk*.]

Reign of Sulṭân Fîrûz Shâh, son of Aḥmad Khân Bahmanî.

He was a good, just, generous and pious king: he supported himself by copying the *Ḳur,ân*, and the ladies of his *ḥaram* used to support themselves by embroidering garments and selling them. As a ruler he was without an equal, and many records of his justice still remain on the page of time. One is a city which he built on the bank of the river Kṛishṇa;[56] he erected a lofty building in that city, and completed it, and constructed fortifications one *farsakh*[57] in extent round it, made of cut stone; and for a long time he lived in that city in enjoyment and the gratification of his desires. It chanced that at one time heavy rain fell, and the water of the river overflowed to such an extent that the country round for three or four *farsakhs* was flooded, and much damage was caused. In the streets and *bâzâr* of the city the water rose so high that the Sulṭân and his family for seven days and nights had to live in the upper storey of the palace. The fortifications and the city still remain, but that building has not remained: the city is known by the name of **Fîrûzâbâd.**

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He took Bâbâ Kamâl as his spiritual adviser, and became his disciple. Facing his own dome (tomb) another of elaborate

[55] According to Firishtah (Briggs, Vol. II. p.400) Ḥasan Khân lived till after the death of his uncle, Aḥmad Shâh, when he was blinded and kept a prisoner in his palace at Fîrûzâbâd.

Here ends the first *Ṭabaḳah* of the *Burhan-i Ma,âṣir*.

[56] This should be the Bhîmâ, a branch of the Kṛishṇa.

[57] 6,000 yards.

construction was built for the saint, and beneath it a reservoir which the Sulṭân built during his lifetime: the dome and reservoir are still in existence.

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The affairs of state, both great and little, he entrusted to Sulṭân Aḥmad, whilst he himself only attended to his devotions; and Sulṭân Aḥmad's power being very great in the government he gained over to his side the nobles and ministers and the whole of the army, and meditated opposition to the Sulṭân.

One day someone informed Sulṭân Fîrûz that Sulṭân Aḥmad was plotting against him, and contemplated carrying him off and becoming king in his place, and advised the Sulṭân to be on his guard; he only replied:—"What remedy is there against the decrees of Fate? It is certain that he will be king after me."

It is well known that seventy of the troops had mutinied against Sulṭân Fîrûz, and he had sentenced them to death, but at the intercession of Sulṭân Aḥmad their lives were spared and they were promoted. These men joined Sulṭân Aḥmad in plotting to kill Sulṭân Fîrûz. There were many Habshî slaves in the service of the Sulṭân as personal attendants: one of these Habshîs who was in charge of the royal wardrobe, used every morning to bring the Sulṭân's clothes into his private apartments, and dress him. When Sulṭân Aḥmad's power increased he wished to establish himself in the sovereignty; and deceiving the Habshîs and soldiers by false promises, persuaded them to join him in putting Sulṭân Fîrûz to death.

One day Sulṭân Aḥmad after making elaborate preparations came to the door of Sulṭân Fîrûz's palace with the intention of assassinating him. When the sentries saw this they began fighting with the followers of Sulṭân Aḥmad, and many were killed on both sides. At last the Habshî *jâmah-dâr*,[68] who was a confidential servant, told the guards that he would go and acquaint the Sulṭân with the attack of Sulṭân Aḥmad; but he had previously promised the latter to assassinate the Sulṭân at the time of the fighting. Watching his opportunity he entered the private apartment of Sulṭân Fîrûz, who

[68] Keeper of the wardrobe; a servant who hands the clothes to his master.

at the time was engaged in reading the word of God. That unfortunate Habshî killed Sulṭân Fîrûz with a dagger, and then informed the people of the fact.

When the troops of the Sulṭân became aware of the murder, they retired from the fight, and each one hid himself. Some of the nobles raised the eldest son of Sulṭân Fîrûz to the throne, but at the same moment Sulṭân Aḥmad put him to death, and seated himself on the throne.

The duration of the reign of Sulṭân Fîrûz was twenty-five years, seven months and twelve days; and the period of the sovereignty of the eight Bahmanî kings in the city of Aḥsanâbâd was eighty-two years, five months and eighteen days; but God only knows!

CHAPTER IX.

Ṭabaḳah II.

Account of the Bahmanî Rulers of the Dakḥan whose capital was Bîdar.

THE period of their rule, which began on the 5th Shawwâl, A. H. 825 (22nd September, A. D. 1422) and ended on the 15th Sha'bân, A. H. 926 (4th August, A. D. 1520) was one hundred and one years, two months and eleven days.[59]

Reign of Abû-l-Ghâzî Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh, son of Aḥmad Khân, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Ḥasan Shâh Bahmanî.[60]

On the date already mentioned **Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh** took his seat on the royal throne of Kalburgâ, assuming the above-mentioned excellent titles. The great men and *saiyids*, the *sheikhs*, learned men, nobles and grandees plighted their fealty to the Sulṭân, rubbing the forehead of profound reverence on the dust of humility, and were eager and eloquent in their congratulations and praises. The Sulṭân distinguished them all with ungrudged

[59] In this period the author includes the reign of Aḥmad II., the nominal successor of Sulṭân Maḥmûd; but he gives no account of his reign, because the dynasty practically expired on the death of Maḥmûd.

[60] This is widely different from Sulṭân Aḥmad's general character as given by Firishtah.

favours, and they obtained honours and rewards. The nobles who had suffered much from the ascendancy of the worthless Húshyâr and Bîdâr gave thanks night and day, and cheerfully submitted to the Sulṭân's irresistible mandates: the army and all the subjects, from the copiousness of their sovereign's liberality and justice were happy and free from oppression.

Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh had seven sons, and on the elder ones he bestowed special tokens of affection. The eldest of his sons, who was **Ẓafar Khân**, he honoured with the title of Khân Khânân; to another he gave the title of **Maḥmûd Khân**, and to another that of Muḥammad Khân; **and Khalf Ḥasan**, the cream of sincerity, fidelity and bravery, received many marks of favour and kindness, and was distinguished by the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr (king of the merchants). ملک التجار

In the midst of these affairs the bird of the spirit of Saiyid Muḥammad Gîsû-darâz took flight to the realms of bliss. May the Most High God hallow his grave![61]

Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh, who took great pleasure in the society of *shekhs* and holy men, and had himself attained a high degree of perfection in the external sciences, did not put much faith in the *shekhs* of the Dakḥan; but having heard that there resided in the city of Kirmân a most eminent saint named **Shâh Ni'mat-u-Llâh**, celebrated for his miracles and his profound knowledge, the Sulṭân therefore ordered Shekh Khûjan — who was one of the disciples of the saint — in conjunction with Ḳâẓî Mûsâ Ṉûlkîlî — who was the tutor of Prince Maḥmûd Khân — and Malik-ush-Sharḳ Ḳalanḳar Khân, with innumerable presents, to go to the saint and implore his blessing. They accordingly set out for Kirmân, and paid their respects to the saint, and from the blessing of his holy utterances having obtained their desires, returned, taking with them the cap of discipleship and the garment of approval for Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh. When the news of their arrival reached the Sulṭân he ordered a *chabûtarah* to be erected at Antûr,[62] which is distant one stage from Kalburgâ, and the Sulṭân went out on a pilgrimage to that place, and there received the garment and cap of the incomparable saint.

[61] He died — as already stated — on the 16th of Ẓî-ul-Ḳa'dah, A. H. 825 (1st November, A. D. 1422).

[62] Atnûr — between Kalburgâ and Afẓalpur.

In the month of Rajab in the second year of his reign (June. 1423, A. D.) the Sulṭân with the princes, nobles and ministers and all his retinue marched from Kalburgâ towards the city of Bîdar, and established the seat of government in that excellent city, where the face of the earth from the multitude of flowers and odoriferous herbs, adorned and coloured like the floor of the sky, resembled a peacock's tail; while its buildings in loftiness rivalled the heavens, and in elegance equalled the palaces of paradise; and the splendour of its ramparts and the lustre of its walls made the people independent of the rays of the sun.

Also in this year the Sulṭân cultivated friendly relations with (Mîrân) Mubârak Khân Fârûkî, who was the *Wâlî* of the country of Asîr and Burhânpur, and to strengthen its foundations by a union of the families, asked his daughter in marriage for Prince Ẓafar Khân. The Sulṭân gave a magnificent entertainment on the occasion of the marriage, the city of Bîdar was elaborately decorated and pleasure and joy were universal.

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Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh wages war against the rebellious and idolatrous people in the neighbourhood of his dominions.

The Sulṭân being then resolved to wage war against the infidels, led his army into the mountainous country,[63] and the inhabitants being unable to oppose him fled into the interior, hiding themselves and their goods in the recesses of the mountains, where the royal troops pursued them, slaughtering and plundering as they went. The Sulṭân destroyed their temples and places of worship, erecting *masjids* in their place. From there the Sulṭân turned towards Marmat[64] and put to the sword the inhabitants of that district also, and plundered and devastated the country. He then returned to the capital and busied himself in the affairs of government.

After a short time the idea of eradicating idolatry again entered his mind and he ordered an army to be assembled. Accordingly such an army presented itself before the door of the court that the muster-master was unequal to the task of computing its numbers. With this army the Sulṭân marched from his capital and

[63] It is not stated what part of the country this was. [64] Not identified.

proceeded against the country of Tilang (Telingânâ). When the report of his approach reached the infidels of that country, washing their hands of life, they crept into their forts and bye-paths. The Sulṭân penetrated to the farthest limits of Tilang (Telingâṇâ) and took the fortresses of Mandal[65] and Warangal which are among the principal forts of that country. He devastated the whole country and levelled the idol-temples with the ground, plundered the dwelling-places and freed the face of the earth from the impurity of the existence of the troops of devils and accursed infidels. The Râyas of Devarkoṇḍâ and Râjkoṇḍâ being afraid to meet the attack of the victorious army, sent to the Sulṭân ambassadors understanding the language and tendered their submission, and sending numerous and valuable presents to the court, agreed to pay tribute. The Sulṭân showed them mercy and returned to the seat of government, Muḥammadâbâd Bîdar *(sic)*, where he spent his time in administering justice and building cities and towns.

A year afterwards he conceived the idea of taking the fortress of **Mâhûr** which is one of the greatest and strongest forts of the kingdom of the Dakḥan. Accordingly with a large army he marched towards the above-mentioned fortress. The army seized the country surrounding it, and making the fortress the centre of a circle, slaughtered and pillaged all round, and burned the harvest of life of the infidels of that country; and sweeping with the broom of plunder the permanent homes of the idols, seized whatever moveable and immoveable effects they could lay their hands upon.

After the siege had continued a long time the Sulṭân thought it advisable to return to the capital, and in the following year, after the troops had rested and the cavalry horses become fat, to make a rapid plundering expedition against the people of that fortress; accordingly he marched back to Muḥammadâbâd Bîdar *(sic)*.

After the lapse of a year the idea of eradicating the heretics again entered the mind of the Sulṭân, and he determined upon a *jihâd*; so, with a large army he set out on the march for the fort of Mâhûr. The infidels of those parts having shut themselves up

[65] Not identified. Possibly Ailgandal or Malangûr is meant, both N.-W. of Warangal.

in the narrow parts of the fortress closed upon themselves the doors of ingress and egress.

The Sultân ordered his troops from all sides of the fortress to strive their utmost to take it by assault. According to his orders the brave troops with bows and arrows, swords and spears fought bravely, and by the help of God and the good fortune of Aḥmad, the troops by the strength of their manly arms took the fortress, one so strong that no king had previously been able to conquer it; and opening their hands to slaughter and plunder, swept the whole fort with the broom of spoliation.

From that place the Sultân hastened to the fort of Kalam which he took by one gallant assault, and put the inhabitants to the sword. So in one expedition the Sultân took two forts which no king had ever before been able to conquer. He levelled with the ground all the idol-temples and infidel buildings of that country, erecting in their places *masjids* and monasteries of the true believers, and after that returned to Bîdar with immense booty.

After these victories the Sultân despatched Khalf Ḥasan —who had been given the title of Malik-ut-Tijâr — with an army of brave and experienced men to the Koṅkan. Khalf Ḥasan went into the country of Koṅkan and the sea-coast, and extirpated root and branch the dwelling-places of the infidels, and in whatever direction he heard of any infidels, he proceeded against them, and cleansed the earth from the impurity of their existence; till having taken many forts and towns of that country he greatly enhanced his reputation. The Sultân's regard for him daily increased, and he loaded him with favours; but this excited the jealousy of the people of the Dakḥan, and they were always at enmity with him; yet, owing to Khalf Ḥasan's past services and the Sultân's favour, as proved by the daily increasing good fortune of the former, they had no power to injure him.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultân conceived the idea of exterminating the infidels of the country of Vijayânagar; and with this view he assembled an army. When the splendour of the royal victory-denoting standard threw the rays of conquest round the kingdom of Vijayânagar, and cleared up that tract of country from the darkness of error and infidelity, the brave soldiers of the conquering army, opening the hand of domination and lordship to

slaughter and plunder, took many of the forts and towns of that district, and an enormous amount of booty, prisoners of war, horses and elephants. After devastating the country of the infidels far and wide the Sultân returned to his capital, Muḥammadâbâd Bîdar.

At this time a petition reached the Sultân from Narsing Râya, governor of the fort of Kẖêrlâ, expressing his obedience and submission, and asking the Sultân to come to his assistance.

The Sultân goes to the fort of Kẖêrlâ. Battle between Alp Khân, governor of Mâlwâ and the royal army. Alp Khân is defeated.

When the Sultân became aware of the contents of Narsing Râya's letter he gave orders that an army should be assembled, and that from all parts of his dominions the nobles, ministers and generals with their followers should proceed to the royal court. The Sultân with a large army then set out for Kẖêrlâ; but when he had encamped in that neighbourhood he was informed that Narsing Râya had broken faith with him, and joining himself to **Alp Khân** who at that time was Wâlî of the country of Mâlwâ,[66] had asked for his assistance, promising him a *lak* of rupees *(sikkah)* if he would come to his frontiers; and Alp Khân, forgetting the rights of Islâm and good faith, proceeded to the assistance of those villains.

When Alp Khân with a large force arrived in the district of Kẖêrlâ, the Sultân saw that the most advisable course to pursue was to return two or three stages into his own dominions, and then if Alp Khân, resolving to make war against Musalmâns, should also return, then the lives and property of Musalmâns would certainly be safe; and if, deceived by the persuasions of the devil, he should be audacious enough to invade the Dakẖan, he (the Sultân) might return and chastise him, and with the sword put such ideas out of the brain of that foolish one.

Accordingly having marched away from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Kẖêrlâ he turned towards his own country. When the ministers and generals became aware of the Sultân's (apparent)

[66] Alp Khân, who assumed the title of Sultân Hûshang Ghûrî on his accession, was the second king of the Ghûrî dynasty in Mâlwâ — *vide* Firishtah, Brigge, Vol. IV. p. 171 *et seq.*

Kẖêrlâ was the capital of Gondwânâ.

timidity, being ashamed of turning away from before the enemy they boldly represented that the return of the Sultân would assuredly give occasion for presumption on the part of the enemy ; they therefore recommended the Sultân to wait a little till they engaged in battle with Alp Khân to the best of their ability, and perhaps the enemy would be defeated.

In spite of the strong representations of the nobles the Sultân paid no attention to them, but marched towards his own dominions, and when the news of his retreat reached Alp Khân he deemed it due to fear on the part of the Sultân, and hastened boldly in pursuit of him, so that as the royal camp used to march away from each halting-place he used to arrive at it.

When the Sultân had gone two or three stages into his own country, and ambassadors brought the news that Alp Khân was thus following the camp and was bent upon war with the army of Islâm, the Sultân assembled the *shekhs* and learned men and asked them the following questions: — " Whenever a Musalmân king in aiding infidels makes war against Musalmâns, is it deemed lawful according to the *shar'a* to fight against him ?"

The learned men were unanimous in saying: — " From all past times repelling the allies of infidels has been considered the same as a religious war, and is incumbent upon all, just as much as reinforcing and aiding the true believers."

The Sultân having thus obtained a legal decision from the learned men of Islâm he turned towards the nobles and generals and said : — " My motive in returning was this : Alp Khân is a Musalmân king, and to us who profess Islâm, it is not allowable to initiate war, moreover he who does so incurs the reproach of God, according to the saying, ' The curse of God is on those who awaken sleeping discord ;' we therefore marched towards our own country in order that if Alp Khân should enter our territory we should not be the instigator of war with him ; but now that he has had the presumption to invade our territory it behoves us to chastise him."

The Sultân then turning to his troops encouraged them to fight bravely, and led them to expect increase of rank. The royal army being arrayed with the utmost quiet unfurled the standard of valour, and the various regiments were formed up facing the

enemy. The Sultân in person having selected from the midst of the army 2,500 cavalry clad in steel armour and armed with lances, took post on one flank. When the ranks of the two hostile armies were drawn up, the customs of courtesy and mercy being discarded, they fell upon one another with sword, battle-axe and arrow, and strife and slaughter blazed up like a fire, only to be extinguished by the swords of the warriors. The battle lasted from morning till evening and the heavens were obscured by the dust. At last the Sultân with those 2,500 lancers which he had with him fell upon the enemy like a thunder cloud. Alp Khân, in spite of all his endeavours, was unable to shake them, and finally, turning his back on the battle, took to flight, and leaving all his baggage, court, tent walls,[67] his *haram*, retinue and whatever is necessary, more or less, for kings, fled for his life. The royal troops having seized the whole of the stores, tents, pavilions, horses and elephants of Alp Khân and his troops collected them at the court of the Sultân, who divided the booty among his troops and forbade their pursuing Alp Khân. He sent the whole of Alp Khân's *haram* in travelling-litters and *kahdahs* by the road they had come, together with their eunuchs, and ordered 500 cavalry to escort them to the frontier and hand them over to Alp Khân's people, and to protect them from any molestation by the soldiery. This action of his is a manifest sign of his generosity and manliness.

The Sultân having taken possession of Narsinh's territory as far as the town of **Mâhûr assigned it on feudal tenure to Prince Mahmûd Khân,** who was his middlemost son ; and until Mahmûd Khân was imprisoned for life, this tenure remained unchanged.

After the Sultân had finished the settlement of Alp Khân's affairs he returned in triumph to his capital.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultân sent a messenger with many valuable gifts to the presence of his spiritual guide — the synopsis of persons of merit, pattern to his peers, king of the teachers of truth, prince of holy men, essence of the descendants of the head of the apostles — **Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh Walî** (may God sanctify his beloved grave !), asking him to send to this country one of the glorious descendants of that guide to the way of truth, and in this matter solicited and urged much.

[67] *Sarâ-parda* — a wall of canvas surrounding a cluster of tents.

His Highness having no other fruit in the garden of his life but **Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh** (to far separate himself from whom was inconvenient) he sent to the Dakhan a fresh flower from the rose-garden of sincere friendliness, **Mîrzâ Nûr-Ullâh,** son of Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh Walî, according to the urgent request of the Sultân; and in the year 843 (A. D. 1439)[63] when Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh Walî died, Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh also proceeded to the Dakhan. The Sultân received Mîrzâ Nûr-Ullâh with the utmost respect and reverence, and exalted him above all the *saiyids*, *shekhs* and learned men of the Dakhan; and when Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh arrived there his son, Nûr-Ullâh, died.

Disagreement between Sultan Aḥmad and Sultân Aḥmad of Gujarât.

It has already been mentioned that the Sultân had sent Khalf Hasan Malik-ut-Tijâr to take possession of the Konkan and the forts and hills of that country. When Khalf entered that territory, having conquered all the forts, towns, sea-coast and hills, he made an incursion into the island of Mahâ,îm (Bombay), which is within the territory of Gujarât, and conquered that country also; upon which the inhabitants of Mahâ,îm complained to **Sultân Aḥmad of Gujarât.** The latter being jealous at this, appointed his own son and successor, named Muḥammad Shâh, to put down the rebellion of Khalf. The Sultan on being informed of the approach of the Gujarât army despatched Prince Ẓafar Khân — who was his heir-apparent, and who during the Sultân's reign received the title of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn (as will be mentioned in due course) — with a large force to the assistance of the brave Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr.

Prince Ẓafar Khân with his army in due time encamped on the shore of the creek *(khalîj)* of the island of Mahâ,îm, and Muḥammad Shâh with the Gujarât army encamped on the further side of the creek; and for some time the two armies remained facing one another, and all day long, prepared for battle, they used to come to the shore and stand facing one another: but neither of them had the boldness to cross the creek. When this had lasted for some time the Dakhanî nobles, moved by jealousy which is inevi-

[63] According to Firishtah he died in A. H. 834 (A. D. 1431) — *vide* Briggs, Vol. II. p. 41.

table towards foreigners, represented to Prince Ẓafar Khân :—"We do all the fighting and killing, but Khalf Ḥasan will get the credit of it." The prince being still in the flower of youth did not perceive the perfidy and evil inspirations of those deceitful Dakḥanî *amîrs*, who with insidious arguments convinced the hapless prince. In a most shameful and dishonourable manner they left Khalf in the lurch, and earned for themselves an evil reputation in the world.

When the Gujarât army obtained information of this dispute, confident of victory, they fell upon Khalf Ḥasan. The latter, without allies, being unable to oppose a large army, left Mahâ,îm, and the Gujarât army plundered all his baggage and took prisoner Khalf's brother, Ḥusain bin Ḥasan, and then turned towards Gujarât.

Sulṭan Aḥmad Shâh proceeds to take vengeance on the Gujarât army.

When the news of this affair reached the Sulṭân, being determined to avenge himself on the enemy, he summoned his army, and in obedience to his orders, from the districts, forts, cities and feudal lands the nobles and chiefs of the victorious army set out for the capital, Bîdar ; and in a short time so large a force assembled at the door of the court that the east and west winds were shut out. The Sulṭân holding out to his army hopes of reward, at an auspicious time unfurled the royal standard and set out for the frontier of Gujarât. In due time he encamped within sight of the fort of **Bahûl,**[69] situate on the frontier between the Dakḥan and Gujarât, and laid siege to it. The governor of the fort of Bahûl, who was an infidel, aided by the strength of the fortress, and hopeful of the protection of Sulṭân Aḥmad of Gujarât—because the fort from time immemorial had been in subjection to the rulers of that country — sent a letter to Sulṭân Aḥmad Gujarâtî informing him that the Sulṭân of the Dakḥan was on his way to Gujarât. In a state of despair he also informed him about the siege of the fortress, and assured him that if he (the Sulṭân of Gujarât) would free him from this difficult affair he would annually pay a large sum into the royal treasury.

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[69] Or Bakol, or Bhol, or Bhûl. Distinctly written بهول in the text. But a reference to the Gujarât history shows that it was Batnol : now called Tambol a hill fort in Khândesh — *vide* Bayley's *Gujarât*, p. 100 n., and pp. 118-120.

In consequence of this Sulṭân Aḥmad Gujarâtî, with the intention of assisting the infidels of Bahûl, set out with an immense army, and in one stage arrived at that fortress. When the (Bahmanî) Sulṭân obtained information of the arrival of enemies he raised the siege and went out in all haste to meet his adversary. Both forces having reached the banks of the river[70] alighted opposite to one another, so that there was only the breadth of the above-mentioned river between the two armies. Every day the two forces drawn up in battle array stood opposite one another; but, however much the troops of both sides endeavoured to cross the river and engage in battle, neither side gave any facility for so doing, and being unwilling to shed Musalmân blood the troops neglected to fight; so that for nearly a year those two armies were seated opposite one another, and neither of the two would begin the battle. When the time became very protracted the theologians and learned men from both sides intervened and with the limpid water of exhortations and advice extinguished the fire of battle which had been kindled, and laid the foundations of reconciliation. It was settled that the fort of Bahûl, which from ancient times had been in Gujarât, should still remain in possession of the agents of that kingdom; and on this side whatever pertained to the servants of the Bahmanî court should remain so. After some days the bonds of mutual friendship and agreement were arranged between the two kings, and their animosity being brought to an end an offensive and defensive alliance was arranged, and it was agreed that they should not fail to exalt the standards of Islâm and break down the rites of the heretics.

The two kings having agreed to all these terms of peace sent one another many valuable presents; and for nearly a hundred years the foundations of unmixed friendship remained firm between the kings of these two countries and they continually sent presents to one another, as will be related hereafter.

After this reconciliation the Sulṭân returned to his capital and looked after the comfort of his subjects and army, and far and near overthrew the customs of heresy and impiety. He promoted in office and rank each of the *amîrs* and ministers of state: Muḥammad bin 'Alî Bâwardî, who was one of the descendants of

[70] Probably the river Tâpti.

Sulṭân Sanjar Saljûḳî, received the title of Khwâjah Jahân; and the commander of the left wing of the army[71] being promoted to the command of the right wing[72] the Sulṭân exalted him with the title of Malû Khân, and on the commander of the right wing he conferred the title of Sârang Khân. Shîr Malik became Koṭwâl of Dâdbak (?), and Shîr Khân, son of the Sulṭan's sister, who had been the cause of the assassination of Sulṭân Fîrûz, met with the same fate as the latter. Mîrzâ Nûr-Ullâh — grandson of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh — obtained the title of Malik-ul-Mushâ,îkh[73] and Ḳâẓî Aḥmad Ḳabûl became Malik-ul-'Ullamâ[74] and Ṣadr-i Jahân; and Ḳâẓî Niẓâm-ud-Dîn Sharîfî — grandson of Saiyid Sharîf — was exalted to the title of Sharaf-i Jahân; and Saiyid Âbd-ul-Mû,min — grandson of Saiyid Jalâl Bukhârî — became entitled Saiyid Ajal Jalâl Khân.

In the midst of these affairs arrived news of the death of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh, and the Sulṭân was much distressed thereby. According to the custom of India he instituted a fair to be held in his honour at his (the saint's) tomb. He assembled all the *saiyids* and theologians, *shekhs* and darvîshes and waited on them himself: the king with his own blessed hand poured water on the hands of the *saiyids* and *shekhs*; and exalting Malik-ul-Mushâ,îkh Mîrzâ Nûr-Ullâh above all the nobles and chiefs, stretched out the hand of two-fold friendship to that family; and the same liberality which Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh showed towards the sons of Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh was also extended to the descendants of the saint; and each member of that illustrious dynasty who ascended the throne used to unite in marriage a princess with one of the descendants of Ni'mat-Ullâh.

After these occurrences a dispute once more arose with the Wâlî of Mandû about the fort of Khêrlâ. At last after much disputing and fighting peace was established and the above-mentioned fort was restored to the Wâlî of Mandû, and it was agreed that the country on this side of the fort should be in the Sulṭân's dominions. This stipulation was confirmed on both sides, allowing no deviation from the highway of sincerity and agreement. After that, each of

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[71] Sar-naubat-i Maisarah.

[72] Sar-naubat-i Maimanah.

[73] King of the *Shekhs*.

[74] Prince or king of the Theologians.

the sovereigns marched to his own capital; but the mutual friendship established between them was not of the same quality as that which existed between the Bahmanî and Gujarâtî Sulṭâns as will afterwards be related.

The Sulṭân proceeds to take several forts and towns. 68

When in the latter days of the late king, Fîrûz Shâh, on account of the weakness which arose in the affairs of the country owing to the frequent wars, the disobedient and rebellious of all parts triumphing in the circumstance, and thinking it a favourable opportunity broke into rebellion and had retaken from the agents of government most of the forts and towns of the kingdom and its frontiers. When Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh 68/69 ascended the throne, owing to the disputes which arose between him and the Sulṭâns of Gujarât and Mâlwâ, till those affairs were over he had not found leisure to retaliate on the rebellious ones in the various parts of the country and chastise the infidels. Moreover, while the Sulṭân was engaged in repelling his enemies the infidels, even without fighting, had succeeded in getting possession of various districts of Telingânâ. But now that the mind of the Sulṭân was entirely at rest from contention with the Sulṭâns of Gujarât and Mâlwâ, he turned his attention to the reconquest of those districts which had come into possession of the infidels; and having assembled a countless force he proceeded towards the country of Telingânâ.

When the Sulṭân, spreading the wings of victory and conquest, threw the shadow of triumph over the regions of Telingânâ the people of some of those towns and forts, traversing the road of obedience and submission, made peace by agreeing to pay revenue as security for good behaviour; but some who having bound the fillet of opposition to lawful authority on the forehead of rebellion and impudence, took the road of unbelief, were sent to the house of perdition by the blows of the death-dealing swords of the troops. By the aid of God and the good fortune of the Sulṭân strong fortresses were taken, the strongest of which was the fort of **Râmgîr**. This celebrated fortress, which in strength resembled Alexander's rampart, and all the other forts and strong fortresses of that district having been taken by the royal army, the symbols of infidelity were overturned.

The *wâlî* of the fort of **Warangal**, who was the most intelligent of the infidels of that country, saw that in whatever direction the

victorious army turned they levelled with the ground the forts and towns and used to plunder and devastate the country and eradicate the inhabitants, root and branch ; so, foreseeing and dreading the attack of the royal army, he sent a deputation of his chief men to the foot of the throne, and by the interest of the confidential servants of the court, represented his readiness to submit to the Sulṭân's authority and to pay tribute if his offences were pardoned. The Sulṭân in his mercy pardoned the inhabitants of the fort, and after taking security prohibited his troops from plundering it.

The Sulṭân was for a long time engaged in reducing Telingânâ and conquering the districts in possession of the infidels. Some who humbly submitted to his rule and agreed to pay tribute he confirmed in possession of their districts. Having made Ibrahim Sanjar Khân head of the army, he sent him in command of a division to conquer that country and conciliate the people ; and conferred on him as a *jâgîr* the fort of **Bhonâgîr** and several districts.

After that the Sulṭân returned to his capital and resigned the affairs of government into the hands of **Miyân Maḥmûd Nigâm-ul-Mulk**, who was the wisest man of his age, unequalled in learning and one of the descendants of the illustrious *shekh*, Shekh Farîd Shakar-bâr ;[75] and he consigned to Khalf Ḥasan the port of Dhâbol and all the ports on the coast.

In this year the Sulṭân in the interior of the fort of **Muḥammadâbâd Bîdar** laid the foundation of a palace and portico *(pîshgâh)* of extraordinary height and beauty.[76] When he had completed the building **Shekh Âzarî** — owing to the perfection of whose fame it is unnecessary to speak in terms of praise — visited the Sulṭân's court and composed two verses in eulogy of this palace, and the Sulṭân was so pleased that he presented him with 700,000 Dakhanî *tankah*, which may be equivalent to about 1,000 *tûman* ;[77] upon which Shekh Âzarî said : —

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[75] *Shakar-bâr* = raining sweetness, eloquent.

[76] The date of the building of the palace is not given. The description is so extremely hyperbolical in style that I shall not weary the reader by translating it

[77] I have not been able to ascertain either the value or weight of the Dakhanî *tankah* or Persian *tûman* (or *tumân*) of that period. The *tankah* was a copper coin, and the weight of 700,000 of them must have been very considerable.

حبذا قصر معظم کہ ز فرط عظمت آسمان را بہ سدہ ان دربگاہ
آسمان ہم نتوان گفت کہ ترک ادبست قصر سلطان جہان احمد یمین

"Your gifts can only be carried on beasts of burden."[78]

The Sulṭân smiled, and added to his previous gift 25,000 more *tankah* for the expenses of his journey and the cost of carrying (the money). The *shekh*, after suitably thanking the Sulṭân for the abundance of his favours and kindness, agreeably to his desire, returned to his native country.[79] By this generosity and kindness on the part of the Sulṭân he obliterated the names of the kings of the world from the register of the generous, and to the end of the world exalted the banner of his good reputation among the sons of man.

Maulânâ Sharf-ud-Dîn Mâzandarânî, who was one of the disciples of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh, inscribed in beautiful handwriting two verses on the door of the palace, and the Sulṭân presented to him also 12,000 *tankah*.

When the Sulṭân had reigned for a period of twelve years he resigned the crown and throne of sovereignty to the heir-apparent, Prince Ẓafar Khân, who was the eldest of the Sulṭân's sons and adorned with the jewel of knowledge and generosity and the ornament of mildness and bravery; and all the nobles, ministers and generals plighted their fealty to him.

After that the Sulṭân divided the country of Hindûstân among his sons: the district of Mâhûr with its dependencies he settled on Prince Maḥmûd Khân[80] and Râ,îchûr and Chûl (?)[81] with their dependencies on Dâ,ûd Khân.

In the meantime the Sulṭân fell into a bad state of health, and in spite of the remedies of the physicians his illness daily increased till he died on the 25th or 26th of Rajab, A. H. 838 (24th or 25th February, A. D. 1435).

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[78] لا يحتمل عطاياكم إلّا عطاياكم

[79] Shekh Âzarî died at Asfarâyin, a city of Khurâsân in A. H. 866 (A. D. 1461) at the age of eighty-two. The following chronogram records the date of his death:—

دريغا آذرى شيخ زمانه ∴ كه مصباح حياتش كشت بيضو

چو او ثانى خسرو بود در شعر ∴ ازآن تاريخ فوتش كشت خسرو

Alas! for Âzarî, Shekh of his days,
The light of his life is shorn of its rays.
Being Khusrau the second in poesy,
In KHUSRAU the date of his death you will see.

[80] Or Muḥammad Khân (?) — *vide* p. 143 n.

[81] Not identified.

Account of some of the Good Qualities of Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh.

The learned have recorded that he was a king renowned for his many good qualities and justice and piety. His disposition was adorned with the ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of abstinence and devotion. * * *

In generosity he carried off the palm from all the kings of the world, as has been recorded in the following verses by Shekh Âzarî, who has been formerly mentioned.

* * * * *

An *amîr* named **Shîr Malik**, a celebrated noble of high rank, and who had the management of most of the important affairs of government, having gone to take one of the forts of the infidels, took the strong fortress, and with much booty and countless horses and elephants, was returning in triumph to the royal court. Saiyid Nâṣir-ud-Din, who was by birth one of the true *saiyids*, an Arab, had been honoured by being presented to the Sulṭân, and had received various honours and presents; and the Sulṭân having given him a large sum of money for the construction of an aqueduct to carry water into Karbalâ, had dismissed him. On his way the *saiyid* happened to pass through the camp of Shîr Malik, and did not salute the latter in the usual ceremonious manner. Shîr Malik from the pride which he possessed, becoming like a furious lion, ordered the *saiyid* to be dragged to the ground from his saddle. The *saiyid* in his indignation and wrath returned to the Sulṭân's court, and made the following representation:— "On account of the faith and friendship which, as is well known, the Sulṭân of the World entertains in regard to my family, I have travelled to this country, leaving the sacred places and tombs of fathers and ancestors, the society of companions and friends; and regardless of attachment to my mother country, which is beyond the power of imagination. The result of the love and reverence for the Prophet Muḥammad is only this, that a descendant of that holy personage is dragged from his horse to the ground: this disgrace and baseness has been inflicted on the *saiyids*."

The Sulṭân was much affected by this speech, and showing much kindness and consideration towards the *saiyid*, strove his

utmost by valuable presents to soothe his feelings, and then sent him on his intended journey.

When Shîr Malik arrived near the seat of government the nobles and ministers of state went out to meet him, and showing him the greatest honour brought him to the court. When the eye of the Sulṭân fell on him the fire of his wrath was kindled and blazed up. He ordered the elephant called "Kassâb" (the butcher) to be brought. The lookers on were amazed at this, and from fear of the king's anger trembling seized their limbs, and they said to themselves: — "Notwithstanding such valuable services and such gallantry on the part of Shîr Malik, to kill him and throw him under the feet of an elephant is far from the Sulṭân's usual kindness and gratitude." But no one had the courage to say anything till the elephant-keeper brought the appointed elephant, when the Sulṭân, without giving Shîr Malik an opportunity of saying a word, ordered him to be thrown under the elephant's feet. The Sulṭân then said: — "Thus only can insult to descendants of the Prophet be suitably requited; and the protection of Islâm is incumbent upon all."

The Sulṭân's age was between 60 and 70, and he reigned for a period of 12 years, 9 months and 24 days,[82] but God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters.

Note to Chapter IX.

[The following brief account of the reign of Sulṭân Aḥmad is taken from the *Tazkarát-ul-Mulúk*.]

Reign of Sulṭân Aḥmad Wálí Shâh Bahmaní in the city of Muḥammadâbâd, which is now known as the City of Bîdar.

After the murder of Sulṭân Fîrûz, Sulṭân Aḥmad ascended the throne.

One day when he went out hunting in the neighbourhood of Muḥammadâbâd a dog seized a hare by the tail. The hare turned round and fighting with the dog, overcame him. Sulṭân Aḥmad on seeing this said: — "The climate of this country seems to be conducive to bravery, seeing that a hare beats a dog. If I should

[82] This period added to the date of his accession (11th Shawwâl, 825) would make his reign terminate on the 5th Sha'bân, 838 (5th March, 1434). According to Firishtah he reigned 12 years and 2 months.

found a city here and make it my capital, the men who shall be born here and grow and thrive in the climate of this region will certainly be braver and more manly."[33] Besides, in the city of Aḥsanâbâd the Sulṭân had hœmorrhage, and it was not a fortunate place for his capital. For this reason, in a propitious hour, he laid the foundation stone of the city of Muḥammadâbâd, and in a short time he approved of its completion; and he passed the period of his life in that city in pleasure and the gratification of his desires.

During his reign **Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân** came from Khurâsân for the purpose of trading; and showing great ability in political affairs he served four Bahmanî kings, always faithfully and with good will, till in the latter end of the reign of Muḥammad Shâh, son of Humâyun, he suffered martyrdom, and left behind him a good reputation in the world.[34]

Sulṭân Aḥmad ascended the throne in A. H. 830 (A. D. 1426), and in the same year founded the city of Muḥammadâbâd, and for twelve years, nine months and twenty-four days lived in peace and happiness and with a good reputation. He died in A. H. 842 (A. D. 1438), but God only knows!

Khwâjah Jahân comes to the Dakhan, enters the service of the kings and attains high distinction.

It is related that Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân was a wise, good and experienced man who chanced to arrive in the port of **Dhâbol**, now known as **Maimûn Mustafâ,âbâd**; and the various kinds of people he saw there seemed to him wonderful and strange. One day in the *bâzâr* he was sitting in the shop of a merchant, when the governor of the said port, with the utmost pomp and grandeur, passed through the *bâzâr* seated on a throne (*singhâsan*) and playing with a *bulbul* which he had on his hand. The *Khwâjah* was astonished at this circumstance, and said to himself: — "It is evident that the people of this country are simple-minded and playful: one might pass one's life very pleasantly among such

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[33] Compare *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir*, Fol. 170 *a*, I. O. MS., where the same story is told of Aḥmad Niẓâm Shâh, the founder of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty and the city of Aḥmadnagar.

[34] In the *Burhân-i Ma,âṣir* the first mention of Khwâjah Jahân is in the reign of Humâyûn.

people and find much enjoyment in their society, and attain high dignity." He then wished to proceed to the seat of government at Bîdar, but Sulṭân Aḥmad had given orders that any foreigners or foreign merchants, from wherever they might come, should transact their business at the port of their arrival and were not to be permitted to proceed to the court. Khwâjah Jahân therefore waited on the governor of the port with valuable presents, and begged permission to proceed to the seat of government. The governor explained the abovementioned excuses for refusing his request. The Khwâjah said : — " I have travelled in many countries, such as Rûm, Syria, Egypt, Khurâsân, Turkistân, etc. I have travelled through all these countries, and collected in them rarities of various kinds fit for kings, and it would be a pity if the king should not see them." He added : — " I have written on the subject to the king and the ministers of state, and am sending them various presents : do you also write a few words to the ministers of state, and perhaps my business may thus be brought to a successful issue." The governor of the port wrote a letter to the king through the ministers of state. The petition of the Khwâjah reached the ministers, and when they became acquainted with its contents they joined in presenting it to Sulṭân Aḥmad; but he was not at all willing to let the Khwâjah come, and said: — "These intelligent foreigners are ingenious, and would soon deceive people : if this man came here he would in a short time attain authority and power, which would be displeasing to all of you." The ministers replied : — " What harm can one man, a merchant, do? We shall see what manner of man he is, and whether he is fit for service : if he be not deserving, it will only be for a short time, his business will soon be concluded, and we can dismiss him." As the ministers were pressing in this matter the Sulṭân gave his consent, and after some days the Khwâjah arrived with his goods in the city of Bîdar, and visiting each of the ministers, explained the object of his coming. By their advice he presented as offerings to the king some Arabian horses, rare silken cloths, some Turkî and Habshî slaves, several kinds of pearls and other valuable jewels and some beautifully written and highly ornamented copies of the *Kurân*. When he reached the court he took one of those *Kurâns* on his head, and placing the remainder on the heads of his slaves, entered the presence. When the king was informed that what they carried on their heads were *Kurâns* he involuntarily arose from his throne,

and taking the *Kurân* which the Khwâjah had on his head, put it on a corner of his throne, and turning towards the ministers of state said: — "The Khwâjah even in the court has given orders to me, since in order to do honour to the word of God he has brought me off my throne: it remains to be seen what he will do after this." The king after inspecting the presents sent them into his palace, and then questioned the Khwâjah about the affairs of other kings; and the Khwâjah gave his answers in a pleasing narrative, and related various particulars about the manners and customs of other kingdoms. The king was astonished at what he related and pressed him to tell him more particulars. He was much pleased with the Khwâjah's society and commanded him to visit him every day. He honoured the Khwâjah with several valuable presents and appointed a lofty and spacious dwelling for his residence. Like the other servants of the court the Khwâjah used to present himself at court daily, each time bringing some present with him, on which account the king's favour and affection towards him daily increased, till he went so far as to consult the Khwâjah in matters pertaining to the government and finance; and the successful results of whatever he used to do by the advice and approval of the Khwâjah strengthened the king's reliance upon him and caused the dignity and rank of the Khwâjah to be much increased. But in the meantime Sultân Aḥmad died.

CHAPTER X.

Reign of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Aḥmad Shâh, son of Aḥmad Shâh.

After the death of Sultân Aḥmad Shâh, with the concurrence and approval of the nobles and heads of the army, on Monday, the 22nd of the month Rajab in the year 838 (21st February, A. D. 1435) Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn ascended the throne; and, according to the custom of kings, the great *saiyids*, *shekhs*, and learned men being present at the time of the sovereign's taking his seat on the royal throne, his highness Malik-ul-Mushâ'ikh **Shâh Burhân-ud-Dîn Khalîl-Ullâh**, son of Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh Wâlî, who was the religious instructor of this king and son of the spiritual adviser of the late Sultân, took hold of the Sultân's right hand; and **Saiyid Khasîf** taking his left hand, they seated him on the throne; and the nobles and grandees scattered money. The

Sulṭân placing two chairs, one on each side of the throne for those two illustrious fortunate ones, they were seated on his right and left; and the other *saiyids* and learned men — such as Malik-ul-'Ulamâ Kâzî Aḥmad Kabûl Sadar-i Jahân and Sadar-ul-'Ulamâ Kâzî Niẓâm-ud-Dîn Sharîfî Sharf-i Jahân and Malik-ul Mudarrisîn[85] Saiyid Aḥmad Jurjânî obtained permission to sit at the foot of the throne. The courtiers congratulated the Sulṭân on his accession, and in eloquent language sang his praises; and each one according to his rank and station received robes of honour and other gifts. Poets recited elegant congratulatory verses and were rewarded by kingly gifts.

When by common consent Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn succeeded to the absolute sovereignty of the Dakhan by hereditary right and desert he regulated in such a manner the distribution of justice and the erection of the structure of equity that the impression of the beneficence of Farîdûn was eclipsed, and Naushîrawân's fame for justice was powerless to compete with it.

On Fridays and festival days he used himself to ascend the pulpit and read a *khuṭbah* in extremely eloquent language. Owing to his excessive mildness and mercy he was averse to the shedding of blood or hanging, and he generally spent the happy hours in playing and toying and pleasure and mirth and the society of rosy-cheeked, sugar-lipped fair ones and youths with cypress-like stature and silvery forms. From sociableness and excess of hankering after this class of people he used not to attend to state affairs as much as he ought, and from want of attention to the important affairs of government, the affairs of the kingdom continually fell into commotion and confusion, and his subjects became disgusted, as will be shown hereafter.

* * * * * *

Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn in the early part of his reign dismissed several of the *amîrs*, ministers of state and inferior officers of government, and appointed a number of others in their places: thus **Miyân Maḥmûd Niẓâm-ûl-Mulk Aḥmad Shâhî was dismissed from his government and put to death.** Kawâm-ul-Mulk Ghûrî received the title of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, and his son became Kawâm-ul-Mulk. **Muḥammad bin 'Alî Bâwardî — who was**

[85] King of the Professors.

Khwâjah Jahân — and the other nobles and ministers were confirmed in the titles and appointments which they already held.

The Sultân appointed two of his own slaves commanders of the right and left wings of the army. The command of the left wing — by the custom of the late Sultân — was given the preference over all the dignities of the right wing, and Malû Khân had been appointed to it, and Sârang Khân to the command of the right wing.[86] **The descendants of Malik Maḥmûd Afghân,** *mu'âmilân* of the district of Halkundah were advanced to very high rank: thus Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk obtained Mubârakâbâd Miraj on feudal tenure; and another of that clique obtained the title of Mu'azzam Khân, and the district of Bîjâpûr was assigned to him on feudal tenure. Mushîr-ul-Mulk Afghân took on feudal tenure Halsangî which is a *taraf* of Bîjâpûr; and the greatest of them received the title of Majlis Akram Dilâwar Khân, and was promoted to a government.

In the beginning of his reign the Sultân constructed a garden and palace named **Ni'matâbâd** on the bank of the river. In that Paradise-like garden and palace, which was distant about one *farsakh*[87] from the capital, the Sultân took up his abode; and reclining on the *masnad* of pleasure and delight he employed himself in drinking cups of ruby-coloured wine and enjoying himself with ruby-lipped, heart-ravishing (females) and in listening to the melodies of sweet-tongued musicians.

The nobles and great men used every day to perambulate the sanctuary of that *ka'bah* with their business unattended to. Moreover, many of the courtiers, nobles and generals built houses for themselves in the neighbourhood of that lofty building, and took up their abode there, so that they might often have the honour of an audience.

At this time Sanjar Khân, who was one of the greatest of the Sultân's nobles, in accordance with orders was engaged in fighting against **the Uriah leader of the infidels of Telingâna,** and used constantly to take as prisoners the cursed people of that district, and used to send them to court; and **the Sultân after confirming them in the faith of Islâm** sent them on to Prince

86 *Vide* page 117.

87 About 6,000 yards.

Humâyûn Khân, who was the eldest of his sons. By the aid of God many of these wanderers in the desert of error and ignorance were led to the pleasant fountain of the right road, and by the light of Islâm the darkness of infidelity was expelled from their hearts, and two of them were promoted to the rank of *amîr* and *wazîr*. The Sultân himself used often to say:—"Why does Sanjar Khân match himself in battle against the possessors of elephants?" For at that time in the government of the Bahmanî Sultâns there were not more than about one hundred and fifty elephants, whilst those infidels had nearly two hundred thousand. Notwithstanding this the gallant Sanjar Khân was continually plundering their country, and used not to fail in killing and imprisoning the worshippers of idols.

In the midst of these affairs the Sultân sent Dilâwar Khân Afghân with a large force to take the entrenchment and fort of **Sharkah.**[88] He accordingly set out with his force, and having arrived at those frontiers, after some parleying and fighting settled matters peaceably; and taking an immense amount of valuable property for the government from the chief of each of the two districts, returned to court. But when he went to pay his respects to the Sultân he was dismissed from his government, and a eunuch who had recently received the title of Dastûr-ul-Mulk was appointed in his place. The people of the Dakhan being much distressed by the tyranny and oppression of that untrustworthy one used to complain of him day and night at the court; but the Sultân, from the extreme mildness of his disposition, used to wink at it, and do nothing to check his oppression of inferiors; but Prince Humâyûn Khân, from his innate mercy, out of kindness ordered one of his attendants to watch for an opportunity to free the people from the oppression of that mutilated one.

In this year **Nasîr Khân,**[89] Wâlî of Asîr, conceived the idea of conquering the Sultân's dominions; and notwithstanding the long-established friendship and agreement between them, he invaded the Bahmanî territory and began to plunder and devastate. The Sultân on hearing that Nasîr Khân with a large army had invaded his territory and laid waste several villages on the frontier,

[88] Not identified. Perhaps it is the name of the renegade chief called Sirkah a little farther on.

[89] Ruler of Khandesh, and father-in-law of the Sultân.

proposed to each one of his nobles to fight against Naṣîr Khân, but none of them would undertake it. At last he summoned Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr and nominated him for this business. Khalf without delay or thought consented, and applied himself to the task of putting down Naṣîr Khân's rebellion. The Sultân conferred many favours and benefits on Khalf, and presenting him with his own special robe gave into his hands a naked sword with a golden inscription on it. Khalf took leave of the Sultân and set out without even first going to his own house.

When the news of the approach of Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr with a numerous force of spearmen reached Naṣîr Khân, he did not think it advisable to remain in the Sultân's territory, so he abandoned the vain expectations and desires which he had entertained, and being unable to oppose himself to the royal army, as a last resource he took to flight and shut himself up in the fortress of Aṣîr.[90] Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr pursuing him reached the neighbourhood of the fortress, and surrounding it laid siege to it. This continued for a long time till at last the distracted life of Naṣîr Khân, by order of the Almighty, becoming a captive in the claws of fate the bird of his spirit flew off from the narrow fortress of his body towards its native country. This event happened in A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435).

After this Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr returned with much booty to the court and paid his respects to the Sultân.

Rebellion of Muḥammad Khân, the Sultân's brother. The Sultân proceeds to put it down.

In this year, by the suggestion of the wicked devil of seduction, the idea of rebellion and ingratitude having obtained a hold on the heart of Muḥammad Khân,[91] the younger brother of the Sultân, he turned the reins of opposition towards the desert of error, and after killing 'Imâd-ul-Mulk Ghûrî on the bank of the river Pen Gangâ | 79 he raised aloft the canopy of sovereignty and the banner of pomp, and requited the affection and favours of the Sultân by rebellion.

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[90] A play on words: — اسیر حصار ا نذیر کردید

[91] This appears to be the same as Prince Maḥmûd Khân, who was appointed governor of the Mâhûr district by the late Sultân. The names Maḥmûd and Muḥammad are often confounded. The river called *Gan* (or *Kan*) in the text, must be the Pen Gangâ, which flows past Mâhûr.

1 When the king became aware of the movements of Muḥammad Khân he collected a large army and set out from the seat of government to suppress the rebellion.

2 On the other hand Muḥammad Khân also assembled a large force and hastened to oppose him. After encountering one another the fire of slaughter was kindled on both sides, and extended to Aṣîr, and owing to the bodies of those slain on both sides the road became so blocked that the east and west winds were shut out. At last victory declared itself on the side of the Sulṭân, and the army of Muḥammad Khân was routed: the latter, finding that fortune had turned against him, took to flight. The Sulṭân ordered a number of his troops to go in pursuit of Muḥammad Khân, but gave strict injunctions not to injure him personally: and if they caught him, to bring him without using violence to the foot of the throne, and if not, to let him go. But Muḥammad Khân having escaped with his life from this affair repented of that improper action which had emanated from the suggestions of the devil, and sent an eloquent messenger to the Sulṭân to sue for pardon. The Sulṭân graciously forgave his past offences and caused a treaty to be drawn up assigning to him on feudal tenure the district of **Râyachal in Telingânâ**, and sent him the royal diploma of the *jâgîr* together with the treaty. Muḥammad Khân, conciliated and made happy by the favour and kindness of the Sulṭân, proceeded to his own districts and did not again swerve from the path of obedience and submission.

3 During the time of Muḥammad Khân's rebellion the infidels of **Vijayânagar**, thinking it a good opportunity, had invaded the territories of Islâm, and taken possession of the fort of **Mudgal**, and devastated all the surrounding country; so, after suppressing the rebellion of Muḥammad Khân, the Sulṭân, in retaliation, proceeded with a large force towards the Vijayânagar territory.

4 When the news of his approach reached the ruler of Vijayânagar he fortified himself in the fortress of Mudgal, which is one of the strongest forts of that country; and having filled that strong fortress with his choicest veteran troops he made ready for battle. The Sulṭân pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Mudgal, and his troops formed a *cordon* round it. After the siege had lasted for some time signs of weakness and despondency being

apparent on the side of the defenders of the fort, they sued for quarter; and agreeing to give security, sent messengers to the court of the Sulṭân professing obedience and submission. They agreed to pay tribute besides paying a large sum into the royal treasury; also to pay compensation for any injury inflicted on the Sulṭân's subjects, and in future never to presume to invade the Sulṭân's territory, and each year to remit a certain sum to the royal treasury. After that, the Sulṭân having effected his object returned to his capital.

In several histories it is stated that Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn remained nearly two years on this journey, and waged a *jihâd* against the infidels of those countries. The forts of Mudgal, Chandan-Wandhan and Sâtârâ besides many other fortresses and walled towns *(bûrah)* fell into the possession of the Sulṭân's army; and after successfully accomplishing his desires he returned to his capital.

After he had finished suppressing the sedition of rebels and killing and plundering the idol-worshippers he spent his time in pleasure and enjoyment in gay society.

In the midst of these affairs His Highness Malik-ul-Mushâ'ikh, **Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh** bin Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ullâh died. This illustrious man of high origin left **two sons**: one of them — **Shâh Ḥabîb-Ullâh** — was son-in-law of Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh; and the other — **Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh** — was son-in-law of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, the latter having given him his eldest daughter in marriage.

Massacre of Saiyids in the fort of Châkanah (Châkan).

In this year (858 = A. D. 1454) **Khalf Ḥasan** contemplated the conquest of **Sankisar (Sangameshvar)** which is one of the greatest of the forts on the sea coast; his reason being that a great number of infidels under the protection of this strong fortress, and relying upon the thick jungle and difficult obscure places used to engage in highway-robbery by sea as well as by land, and on account of the wickedness of these Musalmâns passing to and from used to be in a continual state of terror.

Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr first laid siege to and took the fortress of an infidel who was called **Sirkah**; and the cursed Sirkah, who had been made prisoner by the army of Islâm was given the option of embracing the faith of Islâm or being sent to hell. The accursed one

having come into the Faith by the door of pretext and duplicity voluntarily made the following proposal :— "I have always been familiar with this mountainous and forest-covered district of Sangameshvar ; and now that I have embraced the Faith of Islâm, to protect any longer the professors of paganism and infidelity would be *anathema maranatha* to me. If you will proceed in that direction that fortress also will easily fall into your hands, especially as I shall be in close attendance on you, and the difficulties of the road and the intricacies of the jungle will be no obstacle to you ; for I shall lead your force to the foot of the fortress by such a road that they will experience no inconvenience, and you will attain the object of your desires.

Khalf Hasan, deceived by the speech of his villainous enemy, taking him as guide of the vanguard of his force, proceeded in that direction. However much the army showed to Khalf the evil of that action, which was of unswerving regret, yet — according to the verse —

"When Fate hangs down its wing from heaven
All the sagacious become blind and deaf"—

the veil of predestination had hung down the curtain of negligence over his arrangements, and the speech of his monitors made no impression on him till the black-faced depraved guide took the army by a road, from terror of the ups and downs of which even the devil would have been confounded. At last they arrived at a place where from three sides lofty mountains reared their heads to the revolving heavens, and the depth of its valleys extended below the earth ; the skirt of that mountain as well as the plain was filled with a jungle extremely difficult to pass through owing to the intricacy of the trees, and one side of it was connected with an encircling sea creek. In this dreadful and deadly place nearly thirty or forty thousand cavalry and infantry were crowded together ready for battle, and to make matters worse Khalf Malik-ut-Tijâr was at that time afflicted with a dangerous illness, so that he could scarcely move. In this state of affairs the infidels threw themselves on the army of Islâm, and **Khalf and a great number of saiyids and pious men suffered martyrdom.** The remnant of the routed force, who with a hundred thousand difficulties escaped with their lives, hurried to the **town of Châkan which was the permanent abode of Khalf,** whilst the *amîrs* of the Dakhan, who from olden times had been the deadly enemies of foreigners, picturing this affair in an infamous manner, reported it to the Sultân,

The latter on hearing their version, in his anger, without thinking of the perfidy of which he was guilty, concurred with the base advice of the *wazírs* that the remainder of the *saiyids* and foreigners should be put to death; and by one wrong order uprooted the foundation of the lives of so many thousand foreigners and poor people and descendants of the chief of the Prophets.

Rája Rustam, who had the title of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and **Sálár Hamzah** who was Mushîr-ul-Mulk, being in agreement with one another, assembled a countless force of Musalmâns and Hindûs and proceeded towards the fort of Châkan which was the place of residence of the foreigners. At that time nearly 1,200 *saiyids* of pure descent from the city of the Prophet Muḥammad and the holy martyrs, 'Alî and Imâm Ḥusain, together with 1,000 other foreigners — pious and abstinent followers of Islâm — resided in that fortress.

When the Dakḥanî *wazîrs* arrived in the neighbourhood of the dwelling-place of those poor foreigners and heard their numbers they saw that a peaceable policy was advisable, so they offered them safe conduct *(amân)*, and with deluding and strongly-expressed oaths allayed the fears of those foreigners of good disposition, and invited a number of them to a friendly conference: and those simple-minded people placed such reliance on the false oaths that from the fastness of the fortress they stepped into the desert of death and opened on their own faces the door of annihilation, till the whole of them had fallen into the mouth of the crocodile of misfortune and the net of affliction. But on that day the *wazîrs* clothed the *saiyids* and foreigners from head to foot and sent them to their homes. On the next day when the sun rose in the east the Dakḥanî *amîrs* arranged a great feast and summoned those *saiyids* and foreigners from their dwellings under the pretence of an entertainment; but they had concealed nearly two or three thousand armed men in appointed places, so that when they found an opportunity they might put the guests to the sword. All the unfortunate *saiyids* and foreigners, at the proposal of the treacherous *amîrs*, put away their arms and came into the place of slaughter; and the *amîrs*, inventing a new way of entertaining guests, seated their dear guests with the greatest ceremony; and every now and then, on pretence of food, took a number of them aside to the place which was their place of sacrifice, and there entertained them with the water of the sword of tyranny and the *sharbat* of destruction, so that about

1,200 saiyids of pure lineage and nearly 1,000 other foreigners from seven to seventeen years of age were put to the sword, and all of them at that entertainment **were made to taste the sharbat of death.**

Since the occurrence at Karbalâ and the tyranny of the shameless Zaid, at no time have such misfortunes been inflicted on the servants of God. The perpetrators of it will doubtless receive retribution on the day of judgment. In this world happened to them what happened, as is related. Those two maleficent *sardârs* in that same season were seized with leprosy, the worst of infirmities and diseases, and their sons used to swagger through the streets of the *bâzâr*, and how much more so their daughters!

Enmity between Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn and Sultân Mahmûd Khiljî.

Whilst the Dakhanî *amîrs* had been oppressing the *saiyids* and foreigners in the manner related, **Jalâl Khân,** grandson of Saiyid Jalâl Bukhârî, with his son **Sikandar Khân,** who had been specially distinguished and exalted on account of his education and beneficence, had with them two or three thousand well trained and experienced cavalry, but as they counted themselves among the number of the foreigners they feared to present themselves at court lest they should meet with the same fate as their compatriots. Their enemies used to prevent their having an opportunity of speech, so that they were counted as rebels and infidels, and their traducers made the fact of their not presenting themselves at court to seem like a proof of the accusation; and used to say — "The truth or falsehood of the matter will be settled by summoning them: if they come, all doubts will be set at rest, but if not they should be driven away; for once the fire of sedition waxes high it cannot easily be extinguished.

> "The fountain-head may be stopped with a spade;
> But when it is full, it cannot be crossed on an elephant."

The Sultân lent a willing ear to the speech of these mischief-makers, and sent a person to summon Jalâl Khân and Sikandar Khân. They with soothing excuses sought means of avoiding compliance with the summons of the Sultân, and showed some reluctance to appear at court. But their excuses only tended to strengthen the suspicions of the Sultân, who proceeded against them with a numerous army. When they heard of the Sultân's approach, Sikandar Khân left his father together with

his family and baggage in the fortress of Bâlkoṇḍa with some reliable troops, while he himself with 1,000 cavalry crossed over to Mâhûr, and from there wrote a letter to Maḥmûd Khiljî, who in those days was the ruler of the kingdom of Mâlwâ, representing his weakness and despair, and asking that king to come to the assistance of the descendants of Aḥmad Mukhtâr.

Sulṭân Maḥmûd, who expected some such contingency, resolved to proceed to the Dakḥan with a large force. Marching by stages he arrived at Mâhûr, where Sikandar Khân joined him. The Sulṭân at that time was on his way to Bâlkoṇḍa, and when he heard of the approach of Sulṭân Maḥmûd he went to oppose him.

Historians have related that on that occasion the Sulṭân ('Alâ-ud-Dîn) had with him nearly 180,000 cavalry, and the army of Sulṭân Maḥmûd was not more than 50,000 cavalry. When only one stage remained between the two forces, and Sulṭân Maḥmûd became aware of the numbers opposed to him he knew that it would be folly to contend against them, so returned to his own country by double marches. He left one of the *amîrs* of his army with 1,000 cavalry to protect Sikandar Khân, with orders that if the latter contemplated returning to his own country he was to be prevented.

Sikandar Khân who was now hopeless of assistance from Sulṭân Maḥmûd, repented of his rebellion and wished to rejoin his father and children whom he had left in the fortress of Bâlkoṇḍa; so he used to remain two or three stages behind on pretence of obtaining provisions. One day, according to custom, he did this till Sulṭân Maḥmûd was a day's march ahead; and Sikandar Khân then resolved to go to Bâlkoṇḍa, and accordingly turned in that direction. The force which had been appointed for his protection tried to prevent him, but the heroic Sikandar Khân attacked them, and they not being sufficiently strong to resist him refrained, and Sikandar Khân moving in the direction previously determined on rejoined Jalâl Khân and his family. After consultation he then sent a person to the Sulṭân's court, expressing contrition for what had occurred and suing for quarter. The Sulṭân pardoned him and received him at court with much favour and kindness.

When the Sulṭân had reigned for a period of 23 years, 9 months and 22 days he died.

Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Aḥmad Shâh was a king adorned with the ornaments of clemency, generosity, learning and sincerity. Although he spent most of his time in the society of beautiful youths and in such like pleasures, so that it is mentioned in histories that he had in his *ḥaram* several thousand female slaves, with whom he spent the best part of his time, still he did not neglect the poor and needy and his subjects and dependents.

In the early part of his reign he released each person who had been wrongfully imprisoned, and he strove his utmost in the propagation and adornment of the faith of Islâm. He threw down ancient churches[92] and idol-temples, and in place of them founded *masjids*, public schools and charitable institutions, among which was a hospital of perfect elegance and purity of style, which he built in his capital, Bîdar, and made two beautiful villages[93] there as a pious endowment, in order that the revenue of these villages should be solely devoted to supplying medicines and drinks ; and skilful physicians were engaged to attend to the sick and afflicted friendless poor; and with the favour of God they used to cure the people of their ailments. So much did he attend to carrying out the orders and prohibitions of the divine law that even the name of wine and all intoxicating liquors was abrogated in his jurisdiction and if now and then some one fearless of the consequences drank wine or any intoxicating liquor, molten lead used to be poured down his throat. Those guilty of night-brawling and lewd practices were banished from his dominions, so that not even the name of such people remained in the country ; and *qalandars*, beer-drinkers and gamesters, according to the Sulṭân's orders had chains put on their necks and were punished by being made to clean dirty places and drag stones and clay and do such like hard labour, in order that if industrious they might earn their livelihood by useful employment and not engage in forbidden practices. The Superintendents of Police were ordered to instruct the common people of the city and the people of the *bâzâr* in the customs of Islâm and the laws regarding lawful and unlawful things and the laws of the Prophet, and repent of sins and prohibited things. He himself used to attend evening prayer on Fridays and festival days and read a *khuṭbah* with much eloquence, and laud himself by the titles :—" The Sulṭân,

[92] The word in the original is *kanâ,is*, plural of *kanîsah*, church. Does this mean Christian Churches ?

[93] موضع

the learned, the just, the clement, the benign, the merciful to the servants of God, the independent 'Alâ-ud-Dîn wa-ad-Dunyâ Aḥmad Shâh al Walî al Bahmanî."

In some histories it is mentioned that **Saiyid Ajall,** who was of the family of Katîlah and one of the chiefs of the pious descendants of the Prophet in the place of martyrdom, and was much grieved and vexed at the massacre of the *saiyids* of Châkan, was present in the *masjid* one day when the Sulṭân lauded himself with the above-mentioned titles. Without hesitation Saiyid Ajall stood up and said :— "God to thee for a liar; thou art not the just, the merciful nor the clement, thou who hast massacred the descendants of the Prophet, and yet sayest these words in the pulpits of the Muslamîn." This he said, and went out of the *masjid.*

The death of the Sulṭân occurred in the latter part of Jumâdî I. in the year 862 (April, A. D. 1457).[94]

[The following brief account of the foregoing reign is taken from the Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk.]

Reign of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, eldest son of Sulṭân Aḥmad.

When Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Bahman Shâh became established on the throne in his father's place he used to honour **Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân** even more than his father had done, and the Khwâjah used his best endeavours in consolidating the dominions, and he caused to the government incalculable profits which he collected in the royal treasury; and the treasury was so well filled that in the time of former kings it did not contain a hundredth part of the amount. He used often to send an army to the infidels' frontier, and conquer their country and exact tribute from them by way of capitation tax. In whatever direction the royal army proceeded they returned victorious; and from all directions and from every country soldiers and merchants flocked towards the city of Bîdar.

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He died in the year 866 (A. D. 1461-2) after a reign of 23 years 9 months and 7 days. He appointed his son Humâyûn Shâh as his successor.

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[94] The *Tazkarat-ul-Mulûk* gives the date of his death four years later than this.

CHAPTER XI.

Reign of Humâyûn Shâh, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Aḥmad Shâh.

Although the late Sulṭân had bequeathed the sovereignty to **Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh**, who was the eldest of his sons, and had made him heir-apparent, yet since most of the nobles, ministers of state, princes and the inmates of the *ḥaram* were in terror of Humâyûn Shâh, they were unwilling to have him as king; on this account both nobles and plebeians concurred in wishing to raise to the throne Ḥasan Khân, son of Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn; accordingly they seated him on the throne and plighted their fealty to him, whilst the common people, citizens and soldiery entered the house of Humâyûn Shâh and began to plunder and pillage. Humâyûn Shâh, together with Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh, grandson of Shâh Ni'mat-Ulláh and eighty troopers whom he had as a body-guard, intending to take to flight, came out of the house and happened to pass by the *darbâr*. The elephant-keepers who were standing ready with the elephants, being well acquainted with Humâyûn, came forward and saluted him. Saif Khân and Ulugh Khân had been appointed to protect the *durbâr*, and when they saw Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh, Ulugh Khân opened the door and invited him to enter. Sulṭân Humâyûn, relying upon his word, entered and killed Saif Khân with his sword,[95] and with the acquiescence of Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh and the favour of God ascended the throne, and giving Ḥasan Khân a slap in the face said: — "How dared you during my lifetime desire sovereignty and sit on the royal throne?" He then imprisoned Ḥasan Khân and ascended the throne.

The nobles who had sworn allegiance to Ḥasan Khân were not willing to have Humâyûn Shâh as king: some of them from fear took to flight. Among these **Râja Rustam** Niẓâm-ul-Mulk,[96] who was the pivot of the kingdom and the pillar of the state, fled towards Châkan and Junîr (Junnar), where joining his son, who was Malik-ut-Tujjâr and governor of that district, he fled towards Gujarât; and Malû Khân, commander of the left wing of the army, fled to Râ,îchûr.

Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh ascended the throne on the 22nd of the month Jamâdi II. in the year above mentioned. He put to death all the

[95] A play on words. — *Saif* Khân râ ba *saif*-i jân-sitân ba qatl rasânîdah.
According to Firishtah, Saif Khân was tied to the feet of an elephant, and dragged round the town till he was dead.

[96] This man was one of the perpetrators of the massacre of *saiyids* at Châkan.

nobles who had been in a state of rebellion. Some, together with Ḥasan Khân, he imprisoned. The courtiers and others *nolens volens* submitted to his rule.

Humâyûn Shâh was a king who in learning, eloquence and wit stood alone and distinct among the sovereigns of his time. In valour he was like the brazen-bodied Isfandyâr, and in bodily strength unrivalled in the Dakḥan; but with so many personal excellencies and outward and inward perfections he was of fierce disposition and a shedder of blood: he showed no compassion towards one accused of a crime, and fearlessly shed the blood of Musalmâns for the most trivial offences. When he ascended the throne, seeing the importance of having a reliable and prudent minister who would be of one accord with him, he recalled and placed the affairs of government in the hands of **Najm-ud-Dîn** Maḥmûd bin Muḥammad Gâwân Gîlanî, who was one of the great men of the kingdom, and in justice, penetration and profundity of reflection was the most accomplished of his age, and was afterwards promoted to the title of **Khwâjah Jahân**. The Sulṭân presented him with a special robe of honour and golden belt, and in showing his regard for him and exalting his dignity neglected not the smallest particulars; and that sincere-minded and able minister in his high office regulated the affairs of government in such a way that there was no room for improvement.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân learned that **Sikandar Khân**,[97] son of Jalâl Khân Bukhârî, at the instigation of the devil, had raised the standard of rebellion and with a large force was advancing on **Golkonḍâ**. On hearing this news the Sulṭân was excessively enraged, and ordering a large force to be assembled, sent Khân Jahân[98] in command of it. The latter making rapid marches reached Sikandar Khân and engaged him, but being unequal in strength, after some slight skirmishing he took to flight. The Sulṭân was furious on hearing the news and determined to go there himself. When Sikandar Khân heard of his arrival he boldly attacked the Sulṭân's force

[97] Firishtah tells us that Sikandar Khân, having been an intimate friend of Humâyûn's before the accession of the latter, now expected to get command of the army in Telingânâ, but being disappointed in his hopes, he joined his father in Bâlkonḍa, and raised a revolt.

[98] Khân Jahân was governor of Birâr, and had come to the capital to congratulate the Sulṭân on his accession. — Firishtah.

and used his best endeavours, but fortune only laughed at him; his army was defeated and he himself slain.[99]

After Sikandar Khân had met with the due requital of his rebellion and ingratitude, the Sultân proceeded against Jalâl Khân, Sikandar Khân's father, but the latter on hearing of the Sultân's approach, wrote to him tendering his submission, and was pardoned and received at court.[100] The Sultân then returned to his capital. After he had spent some time there in looking after the interests of his subjects he determined on a *jihâd* against the infidels of Tilang; accordingly he assembled a large force and proceeded in that direction. Having given the command of a portion of the army to Khwâjah Jahân Turk he despatched him in advance with some of the *amîrs* and generals, while he himself followed with the remainder of the army.

Khwâjah Jahân with nearly 20,000 cavalry and forty elephants and a countless number of infantry started ahead of the Sultân's force, and in due course arrived within sight of the fort of **Dâvarakonḍa**,[1] which owing to its immense strength had never been taken by any conqueror. It was excessively lofty and had a deep aqueduct running into it. There Khwâjah Jahân pitched his camp and laid siege to the fort. After the lapse of some days, the defenders of the fortress being reduced to extremities, sent a message to the Rây of Uriya (Orissa) who at that time was chief of the infidels of that country. They represented to him the helpless state to which they were reduced, and agreed to pay him a large sum if he would send an army to their assistance and free them from that deadly strait. That accursed one, from greed of gain and for the defence of paganism, thought himself bound to assist the infidels of that fortress; so he sent a countless force with a hundred elephants to the assistance of the defenders of the fortress. When this news reached Khwâjah Jahân he held a council of war with the *amîrs* and *khâns*. 'Imâd-ul-Mulk,[2] who was celebrated for his bravery, knowledge and shrewdness, advised that

[99] For particulars of this battle, see Firishtah.

[100] According to Firishtah he was imprisoned: and we read further on (page 169) that he was killed when the prisoners made their escape.

[1] Dâvarakonḍâ was at that time in possession of the *zamîndârs* of Telingânâ, and its inhabitants had been in alliance with Sikandar Khân. — Firishtah.

[2] According to Firishtah this was Niẓâm-ul-Mulk. The latter is probab correct, as we see a little further on that Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ghûrî and Iklîm Khân were put to death. Khwâjah Jahân told a deliberate lie in order to save himself at the expense of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk.

before the junction of the army of Orissa with that of Tilang, they should move their camp from that confined space into the open plain, where they would fight more advantageously. In truth this plan was by far the best; but Fate had so hung the curtain of negligence over the eye of Khwâjah Jahân's judgment that he could not distinguish right from wrong, and he took his own course. Suddenly the enemy's army came into view of Khwâjah Jahân's force; and the defenders of the fortress, seeing the standards of the infidels in the distance, opened the gate of the fortress and sallied out, so that the army of Islâm was hemmed in between the two forces and attacked on both sides. The infidels' forces being more numerous than that of Islâm the latter was routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted. The Musalmâns were pursued to a distance of three *farsakhs*;[3] nearly six or seven thousand of their cavalry were killed, and a great number besides died of thirst in the deserts.

At this time the Sultân had arrived within 20 *farsakhs*[4] when messengers brought him the news of the defeat of Khwâjah Jahân and the massacre and plundering of his army; and following closely on this news the remnant of the defeated army also arrived. The world-consuming anger of the Sultân being kindled he burned up the harvest of life of Nizâm-ul-Mulk Ghûrî and Iklîm Khân. Khwâjah Jahân and all the military officers he punished with various kinds of insult and torture, or imprisoned. He then set out on an expedition against the infidels to avenge the disaster; but in the meantime a messenger arrived from Bîdar, who informed the Sultân that **Yusuf Turk** having released from prison **Hasan Khân** and **Mîrzâ Habîb Ullâh** — grandson of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh — and gained over a number of the troops had proceeded to the district of Bhîd.

For the right understanding of this matter it is necessary to explain that when the Sultân went with his army to take vengeance on the infidels, seven persons, particular friends of Mîrzâ Habîb-Ullâh[5] Ni'mat-Ullâh, who by the accidents of fate had been dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, having assembled like the Pleiades, planned the release of their spiritual preceptor, and forming a confederacy went to Malik Yusuf Turk (one of the slaves of the late Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn,

[3] A little more than 10 miles. Firishtah says they were pursued 80 miles.

[4] A little over 68 miles.

[5] Habîb-Ullâh had been imprisoned on account of his friendship for Prince Hasan Khân. — Firishtah.

and celebrated for his great integrity and devotion, charities and piety) and disclosed to him their secret plans. Yusuf entered into the views of the associates and made an agreement with them. Some of the *kotwâls* of the fortress being also on their side, twelve *sowârs* and fifty foot-soldiers joined them : nearly five or six thousand cavalry together with several celebrated *amîrs* also agreed to join the *kotwâls* of the fortress.

When it was nearly evening, Yusuf Turk and the associates went to the gate of the fortress. At that hour each of the gate-keepers had gone about some business, and the few who were present tried to stop them; but Yusuf had prepared a *farmân* with a ruby-coloured seal — which was customary on the royal mandates of the Sultâns of the Dakhan — and showed it to the gate-keepers. By this means they passed through the first door, but when they arrived at the second door, which was the principal one of the fortress, a great number of men came forward to stop them, and said that until the *kotwâl's* permit came they could not act upon the *farmân*. Yusuf seeing that the sword was the only means of silencing their tongues, cut off their heads and entered the fortress. By this time the sun having set a great darkness had fallen over the fortress. A number of them going to the door of the great prison, which adjoined that of the fortress, broke it open with axes. Nearly six or seven thousand *saiyids* and learned and pious men were confined in that prison, and when they found the doors open and saw the means of effecting their escape, they broke their chains and manacles with sticks and stones and rushed to the door of the prison. The friends of Mîrzâ Habîb-Ullâh who had caused all this disturbance then went to a village called Mîrzâ-Dih, and there all were released from their bonds. Now in the fortress, between friends and enemies, there were 12,000 persons with swords and axes scattered about, so the whole city was soon in a state of riot and confusion ; and as owing to the darkness of the night friends and enemies could not be distinguished from one another, many were killed. Yahyâ Khân, son of Sultân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn, and Jalâl Khân Bukhârî were basely and cruelly killed on that dark night. Hasan Khân, the sovereign of a moment, who as yet had tasted only the bitterness of life, rushed out of the fortress and hiding himself in the house of a barber disguised himself in the dress of a *darwîsh*, and Mîrzâ Habîb-Ullâh with his friends joined him. The Mîrzâ wished to retire into a sequestered life, but Hasan Khân persuaded him against it, so they made a mutual agreement, and leaving the city set out for

Bîr.[6] The soldiers, obtaining information of this, sought them from all sides, and in a few days a great number joined them.

When the news of this insurrection reached the ears of Humâyûn Shâh the fire of his world-consuming wrath began to blaze up, and he became like a madman: he put in chains and threw under elephants a great number of his *amîrs* and generals, and returned in all haste to his capital. On the way, in the excess of his rage, he used to bite the back of his hand till the blood flowed from it. The author of the *Târîkh-i Maḥmûd Shâhî*, who was one of the courtiers of Humâyûn Shâh, relates as follows:—"I have heard that when the news of the insurrection of Ḥasan Khân reached the Sulṭân he was so overpowered with fury that there were times when in his rage he used to tear the collar of his garment and bite the ground till his teeth were covered with blood; and when he arrived in the city of Bîdar, such shedding of blood and such numerous acts of tyranny and oppression emanated from him that no preceding tyrant had been guilty of such."

Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh told off a force to go in pursuit of Ḥasan Khân and Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ulláh, who had gone in the direction of Bijâpur. Sirâj Khân — who afterwards became Mu'azzam Khân — was governor of that place. He met the fugitives with all kinds of honour and ceremony, waited on them with propriety and presented them with suitable gifts, and making an agreement and compact with them, emptied the fortress and brought them into it; but at night-fall he assembled a large force, and in the quiet of the morning when Ḥasan Khân and his adherents were wrapped in a deep sleep in their beds the double-dealing Sirâj Khân with his troops entered the fortress, and taking possession of the horses and baggage, surrounded the citadel in which were Ḥasan Khân and Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ulláh with their six devoted followers; and when the sleepers awoke they saw the hostile troops which had surrounded the citadel. When Ḥasan Khân saw what had happened he cried for quarter. Although Mîrzâ Ḥabîb-Ulláh endeavoured to dissuade him from showing this weakness and humility, and reminded him of the want of faith and trustworthiness of those people, and in language suggested by their situation, quoted the verse:—

> "The snake in protecting inflicts injury:
> Moreover its tooth is poisonous."

[6] Properly Bhîl. A little further on they are said to have gone to Bijâpur. The two places are about equally distant from Bîdar. Firishtah also says they went towards Phîl.

Hasan Khân, from his excessive fear, gave no heed to his words, and at last threw himself on the mercy of Sirâj Khân; but Mîrzâ' Ḥabîb-Ulláh and his friends resolved not to accept quarter which was not at all to be relied upon. He said: — "We are all born to death, and are prepared for the arrival of the predestined moment. I am resolved never to place the hand of submission in your hand or sue for mercy from you.

An enemy does not become a life-long friend;
The Arabian thorn-tree produces no fruit but thorns.
The hyacinth does not grow from white seed.
Who ever saw sugar-cane produced from the common cane?
And strive as one may, one jewel does not become another."

His eloquence, however, made no impression on those people, and Shâh Ḥabîb-Ulláh and his friends suffered martyrdom. The poet Saiyid Ṭâhir has composed a chronogram of the martyrdom of Shâh Ḥabîb-Ulláh, which occurred in A. H. 863, A. D. 1458.[7]

Ḥasan Khân, to whom they had given a promise of security was sent to the court of Humâyûn Shâh, the Sulṭân caused him, in his own presence, to be thrown before tigers and killed. The faithless Sirâj Khân, after breaking his promise became afflicted with leprosy.

After that Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh opened the hand of tyranny and oppression, and overthrew the foundations of mankind with the sword of injustice, and used to murder whole families at once. From the sighs of the hearts of the afflicted each night there used to be a thousand cavities in the livers of the celestial globe, and the daylight, from the smoke of the hearts (sighs) of the oppressed used to appear like a dark evening. The fire of his rage blazed up in such a way that it burned up land and water; and the broker of his violence used to sell the guilty and innocent by one tariff. The nobles and generals when they went to salute the Sulṭân used to bid farewell to their wives and children and make their wills. Most of the nobles, ministers, princes and heirs to the sovereignty were put to the sword.

Several of the new Musalmâns whom Sanjar Khân in the time of the late Sulṭân, during his war with the infidels, had made prisoners — as already mentioned — were promoted to high dignity. Among

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[7] صه شعبان شهادت یافت درپند ∴ حبیب الله غازي طاب شعاه ؛
روان طاهري میجست تاریخ ∴ برآمد روح پاک نعمت الله

these was a **Brahmin youth** to whom the name of **Ḥasan** and the surname of **Baḥrî** was given. He was a youth adorned with beauty both of person and disposition, and ornamented with perfect sagacity and shrewdness ; **on him was conferred the title of Sarang Khân.**

Historians have related that Shitâb Khân, one of the Sulṭân's *amîrs*, having fled for his life, the Sulṭân, on the 27th of the month Ramazân, which is the time for repentance, ordered the inmates of his (Shitâb Khân's) *ḥaram* to present themselves in the court-yard of the court where there was an assemblage of common people and soldiers ; and tortured them in a most shameful manner.

The sum of the matter is this that in the kingdom of the Dakḥan the torture of Âsmân[8] and sudden misfortune had descended, and the storm of the vengeance of God had burst upon that city and its environs.

At length a welcome event occurred which opened the doors of mercy and rejoicing to those oppressed people : on the 28th of the month Zî-ul-Qa'dah Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh was removed from the court of sovereignty to the vestibule of the last day, much to the delight of his subjects.

The death of Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh occurred on the 27th of Zî-ul-Qa'dah in the year 865 (3rd October, A. D. 1461),[9] and the period of his reign was three years, five months and five days.

The poet Nazir has composed the following chronogram of the death of Humâyûn Shâh :—

"Humâyûn Shâh has passed away from the world.
"God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humâyûn !
"On the date of his death the world was full of delight,
"So 'delight of the world' [10] gives the date of his death."

CHAPTER XII.

Reign of Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh, son of Humâyûn Shâh.

Historians have related that, when Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh was on his death-bed, he summoned **Khwâjah Jahân** and **Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gîlânî**, and by the terms of his will left them to

[8] Name of a genius who presides over the 27th of every Persian solar month. Some consider this genius to be the same with Murdâd or Asrael, the angel of death. — Johnson's *Dictionary*.

[9] The author states above that Humâyûn died on the 28th of the month, and here on the 27th. Firishtah has 28th.

[10] ذوق جہان = 865

decide as to which of his sons — *viz.*, Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh, Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, or Jamshîd Shâh — was best fitted for the succession. Since the tokens of sovereignty were manifest in the appearance of **Sulṭan Niẓâm Shâh,** after the death of the Sulṭân, Khwâjah Jahân, in concurrence with the *amîrs*, nobility and grandees, on the date above mentioned, in the capital Bîdar, seated Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh at the age of eight years on the throne in place of his father. According to the customary service devolving upon the *saiyids* as heads of the people, **Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh** son of Shâh Khalîl-Ullâh, and **Saiyid-i Sharîf Saiyid Manjalah,** son of Saiyid Hanîf, each taking a hand of the Sulṭân, seated him on the throne; and the *shekhhs* and learned men who were present recited the *fâtihah* and they as well as the nobles and ministers uttered the customary praises and congratulations and plighted their fealty; and having received suitable gifts recited these lines :—

"O king, may thy high fortune be everlasting !
May the dust of tranquillity be the collyrium of thy penetrating eyes !
May the mirror of thy heart be always as free from blemish as the precious gems in thy sword ! "

The prince being still only a boy in the flower of youth, the administration of the affairs of government was entrusted to the **Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân,** who was daughter of Mubârak Khân, son of Sulṭan Fîrûz Shâh ; and with the aid of the sound judgment of the wise minister Khwâjah Jahân Maḥmûd Gâwân the affairs of State were wisely administered. First of all their attention was given to the comfort of the subjects, and they busied themselves in repairing the injuries inflicted by Humâyûn Shâh. All the innocent persons who had been imprisoned by him were set at liberty, and the agents of government were confirmed in the offices and rank which they formerly held. But as most of the *amîrs* and *vazîrs*, through fear of the vengeance of Humâyûn Shâh, had fled and become scattered abroad, and the affairs of the subjects in general and the army had fallen into a state of the utmost disorder, and oppositionists and breeders of disturbance had withdrawn from their allegiance and raised rebellions, the **Râya of Orissa** with a large force of infantry, cavalry and

elephants had invaded and devastated the whole territory of Islâm. The nobles and ministers of State who were present at court assembled large forces, and Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh set out with them from Bîdar to repel the invasion. When they had gone only ten *farsakhs*[11] from Bîdar the army of Orissa arrived from the other direction, and between the two forces not more than three *farsakhs*[12] remained. Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh with a force of 160 armour-clad cavalry armed with lances, placing his reliance on God, started at daybreak against the infidels, and encountered the enemy's vanguard, which consisted of nearly 10,000 infantry, 400 cavalry and some elephants. An engagement took place which lasted from mid-day till sunset. Many of the enemy were killed and the dust was defiled with the impure blood of the cursed infidels. The *saiyid* fought with the greatest bravery and the enemy's force was completely defeated. When the remainder of the enemy's force saw what had happened they wavered and fled, leaving their tents, baggage and other valuable goods on the spot.

Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî wages war against Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh.

Just when the mind of the guardian of the Sulṭân was at rest on the conclusion of the Orissa affair, letters arrived from the protectors of the frontiers saying that **Sulṭân Maḥmud Khiljî** having become aware of the dispersion of the army of the Dakḥan and the disorder which reigned in it, and the ascendancy of the infidels, had — at the instigation of the Ghûrîs who had taken refuge with him to escape chastisement from Humâyûn Shâh — come with an immense army, and crossing the frontier had encamped in a desolate part of the country. Immediately upon hearing this news the Sulṭân with his army proceeded to oppose Sulṭân Maḥmûd, and at the distance of about ten *farsakhs* from Bîdar the two forces met and drew up in order of battle.

Malik Shâh Turk, on whom the title of Khwâjah Jahân had been conferred, and another Turkî slave who held the title of Sikandar Khân were in the centre of the army, in attendance on Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh with a hundred elephants and 11,000 cavalry. The right wing was under the command of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Turk with 10,000 spearmen and forty elephants; and in the left wing

[11] About 34 miles.

[12] About 10 miles.

was **Khwâjah Maḥmud Gâwân,** who at that time held the title of **Malik-ut-Tujjâr,** with 10,000 cavalry and forty elephants.

On the other side Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî drew up his army, both right and left wings, and strengthened his position; and he himself with 20,000 cavalry and 150 elephants raised his standard in the centre; but notwithstanding the overwhelming number of his force he dug a deep trench round his position so that horses or other animals could not cross it.

The two armies were drawn up in this manner in front of one another. From the clamour of drums and trumpets the heavens were in anguish, and sleeping Tumult raising its head from its pillow awoke at the noise.

Malik-ut-Tujjâr with the left wing attacked the enemy's right where Sulṭân Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn had raised his standard. The latter though he advanced and fought with much bravery was unable to meet the attack, and at last gave way, and his father being killed he took to flight. Niẓâm-ul-Mulk also from the right attacked and broke the enemy's left, and numbers of them were dispersed. Muhâbat Khân, governor of Chanderî, and Zahîr-ul-Mulk as well as other *amîrs* of Sulṭân Maḥmûd who were on the enemy's left were killed. When Sulṭân Maḥmûd saw both wings of his army thus broken and most of his *amîrs* and troops disheartened, he was about to take to flight; but in the midst of this the elephant-keepers of the (Bahmanî) Sulṭân seeing the order of the enemy broken had drawn up in line fifty formidable elephants in expectation that the enemy would fly before them, and at once drove them towards the enemy's force. The Turkî *amîrs* who had been delicately nurtured from their youth and were unacquainted with the tactics of warfare, neglected to send a force in rear of the elephants, as they should have done, and so left the elephants unsupported in the midst of the enemy. Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî who still remained in his place, seeing this move in the game of chess, showed a fresh rook and sent a force of infantry and cavalry to cut off the elephants from the Dakhanî army and shut them in. At this time it occurred to the mind of the foolish Sikandar Khân[13] that the Sulṭân owing to his youth was unable to

[13] Sikandar Khân, son of Jalâl Khân Bukhârî, was killed during the previous reign (*vide* p. 164), so this must be some other individual of the same name.

ride well, and fearing that he might be wounded, he lifted the Sulṭân from his saddle and seating him in front of himself tied the Sulṭân's *kamar-band* firmly to his own waist; but this unseasonable movement caused the army to be disheartened, and when the troops no longer saw the Sulṭân in his place they turned and fled from the field of battle. The elephants which had been driven at a rapid pace, remained in the hands of the enemy. The centre of the Dakḥanî army without experiencing any reverse, and though the Sulṭân was still alive, like a flock of sheep without a shepherd, turned towards the desert; and contrary to their custom those brave men, every one of whom was skilled in fight, looked like the disordered locks of women.

Khwâjah Jahân and Sikandar Khân, who were with the centre of the army in attendance on the Sulṭân, saw the flight of the army, and taking the Sulṭân with them proceeded to Bîdar. Sulṭân Maḥmûd from excessive fear and amazement did not move from his place, but fell into this reflection: — "The army of the Dakḥan are practising a stratagem: they have placed a force in ambush and pretend to run away, so that when we pursue them they may surround us; otherwise why should the army fly after gaining the victory?"

At midnight the *amîrs* brought Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh into the city of Bîdar; and next day when the sun rose, Makhdûmah Jahân, the mother of the Sulṭân (who through fear of Humâyûn Shâh had fled to Râyachûr, but now — encouraged by a royal written agreement — had returned to court), gave orders for the defence of the fortress of Bîdar, and appointed Niẓâm-ul-Mulk also to assist her. Then taking the Sulṭân with her, led the whole force to Fîrûzâbâd Kalburgâ.

Sulṭân Maḥmûd waited three days in the same place till he was assured of the **real flight of the Dakḥanî army.** After that he marched to **Bîdar** and encamped within sight of the city, and proceeded to plunder and devastate the city and district. He razed to the ground the houses of the nobility and inhabitants; so that both the great and small of that country recited the *takbîr* of death over their household goods and habitations, and lost all their money and effects.

5 The enemy's army surrounded the citadel and laid siege to it.

From olden times — as has been formerly mentioned — the foundations of mutual friendship had been firmly laid between the Bahmanî dynasty and the Sulṭâns of Gujarât; so in this interval Makhdûmah Jahân, who was the most sensible woman of her day, wrote a letter to **Sulṭân Maḥmûd, king of Gujarât**, complaining of the tyranny and oppression of her enemies, and sent it by the hand of an eloquent messenger imploring assistance from the Musalmâns of that country.[14]

When Sulṭân Maḥmûd heard this news he resolved to proceed to the Dakhan to repel the tyrant Maḥmûd Khiljî; but his nobles and ministers expostulated with him, saying: — "Dâ,ûd Khân who had possessed the sovereignty for a week is still lying in wait, and though this is the third year of Your Majesty's reign your rule is still not as firmly established throughout the country as it should be, nor have the important affairs of government been furthered as much as could be desired; therefore at such a time as this to leave the seat of government, and for the benefit of others to go on a campaign is a matter for serious consideration."

Sulṭân Maḥmûd, though still in the flower of youth, replied to the *amîrs* in elegant language: — "God is with him who is with God, and to assist Musalmâns and friends is praiseworthy and necessary, for the regulation of the affairs of the world and of mankind is founded upon concord; and it is certain that if the heavens and the elements did not agree with one another and join together in this manner, the organization of the universe would be annihilated; and if the race of men were to break the chain of mutual assistance and reciprocity the foundations of the laws of Nature would be overthrown. . . . . "

When Sulṭân Maḥmûd had ended this manly discourse and had inspired his people with manliness and bravery, after expressing their regret to the Sulṭân for their unworthy thoughts they changed their minds and said :— "If there is no help for it but to send an army into the Dakhan, the best course seems to be to enter the kingdom of Mâlwâ, and so cause anxiety to the mind of the Khiljîs: by this means you will not have to travel so far from your own territory; and if (which Heaven forefend!) any disturbance should arise in this country, you will be able to return

[14] *Vide* Bayley: *Gujarât*, pp. 175-6, and *Mir'ât-i Sikandarî*, litho. ed., p. 90.

quickly to quell it. By this plan assistance to Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh will also be assured, for when Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî shall hear of your advance towards his territory, he will quit the Dakḥan and hurry back to his own kingdom."

When they had explained this plan to Sulṭân Maḥmûd he taxed his courtiers with meanness and want of spirit, and ignoring their advice he without delay marched with his army towards the Dakḥan; and in due time arrived at Sulṭânpûr and Nandurbâr, near the frontier of the Dakḥan, where he encamped.

In the meantime the army of the Dakḥan, which by the accidents of fortune had become scattered like the constellation of the Bear;[15] like the Pleiades soon re-assembled under the shadow of the Sulṭân's victorious standard. The personal property and the families of most of the troops being in the citadel of Bîdar, their sense of honour, zeal and bravery was roused, and attracted them back to their allegiance to the Sulṭân. Just then the news of the arrival of Maḥmûd (Gujarâtî) at Sulṭânpûr reached the Sulṭân, and inspired both him and the army with fresh courage. A continuous correspondence then took place between the two Sulṭâns.

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Sulṭân Maḥmûd (Khiljî) was for a long time engaged in the siege of Bîdar: every day he used to fill the ditch of the citadel with earth and rubbish, but when night came the defenders used to come out and entirely remove it and restore the ditch to its former state. A number of historians have related that Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî on his journeys used to carry about with him various kinds of vegetables growing in wooden frames, so that at each halting-place he might, at the time of eating, have fresh vegetables on his table. During the siege of Bîdar his supply of vegetables being exhausted, he ordered that somehow or other by lawful means vegetables should be procured for him. He summoned one of the *shekhs* of Bîdar, called Maulânâ Shams-ud-Dîn the Truth-teller — who on account of his friendship for Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh, had remained in Bîdar — and consulted him, saying :—

"If we buy vegetables in this place for the use of the Sulṭân, and pay for them, will it be lawful?" The above-mentioned

[15] As having the stars scattered, in opposition to the Pleiades where they cluster.

maulánâ fearlessly replied: — "You must surely be in jest: to invade the territories of Musalmâns; to lay waste their country and houses, and rob them of their property; and then to ask for a legal decision from the doctors of the law on the subject of vegetables, is not the act of people of understanding." —

When **Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî** heard the news of the assembly of the army of Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh, and that Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî was coming to his assistance, he raised the siege, and taking Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh and his followers with him, marched from Bîdar and set off two or three stages towards Kalyâṇî so as to escape by way of Châṇdor; but in the meantime spies brought the news that Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî with his army was proceeding in that direction; so Maḥmûd Khiljî in fear of his life turned from that direction and hastened towards his own dominions by way of Burhânpur and Asîr.

When the news of the flight of Khiljî reached Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh he ordered Khwâjah Jahân with a large force to go in pursuit of him, and to hang on the rear of the enemy's army, and slaughter and plunder them wherever he found them. Marching with all speed he came up with the rear of the enemy's army, plundered their baggage and killed great numbers of them.

On the road news again reached Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî that the Gujarât army was encamped in the neighbourhood of the district of Sulṭânpûr, so, seeing that that road also was closed against him, he summoned the chief of Gondwârah and soothed him with various kinds of favour and kindness in order that he might lead them by some other route by which they might avoid molestation from the enemy. The chief said: — "In this neighbourhood there is no practicable route for the army and baggage; but there is a road like the place of Hârût and Mârût[16] towards Akot and Elichpur, far removed from the route of the army of the king of

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[16] Names of two angels who, having severely censured mankind before the throne of God, were sent down to earth in human shapes to judge of the temptations to which man was subject. They could not withstand them: they were seduced by women, and committed every species of iniquity; for which they were suspended by the feet in a well in Babylon, where they are to remain in great torment till the day of judgment. — Johnson's *Dictionary*.

Gujarât; but for several stages, owing to the difficulties of the road and the thickness of the jungle, it is hardly practicable.

Verse.

The earth is more waterless than brimstone,
The wind more heart-burning than hell."

As a matter of necessity Sultân Maḥmûd chose that route for the passage of his army, and said: — "The difficulty of the route is easier than throwing one's self into the jaws of destruction."

Turning aside from the direction of Daulatâbâd, which was the route of the Gujarât army, he marched with as much speed as possible towards Akot. When the tyrannical army entered that valley and desert of which the chief of the Gonds had told them, owing to the numbers of the army and the length and narrowness of the road, the hot winds and the scarcity of fresh water, the troops were excessively distressed; and in the first march five or six thousand of them died of thirst. A band of Gonds who were robbers on that road, when they saw the sufferings of the army from want of water, took the opportunity to plunder them from front and rear and right and left. The remainder of the army, after encountering a thousand difficulties and dangers, had managed — half dead — to reach Karân.[17]

Notwithstanding the trouble and torment suffered by the army of Sultân Maḥmûd from want of water on the first march, immediately upon hearing this news, being in terror of their lives they started on, sometimes rising and sometimes falling. It is stated on reliable authority that on that march a cup of water was sold for two rupees, and was thought very cheap at the price. The truth is that since the designs of Sultân Maḥmûd were not accommodated to propriety and rectitude towards mankind no result but disaster and reverse of fortune accrued to him from that improper and unfair movement. From the seed of trouble and tyranny which he had sown he neither saw nor gathered any fruit but regret and affliction. On the second stage of his march he lost a great number of men; and those who escaped death were so knocked up by the fatigue of the journey that they would have preferred death to life. Maḥmûd Khiljî, who was himself the originator of

[17] This is probably meant for Karanja, Lat. 20° 29' N., Long. 77° 32' E.

his own unpraiseworthy movement, put to death the chief of Gondwârah whom he suspected of purposely misleading them, though he had graphically described the difficulties of the route.

After the flight of Maḥmûd Khiljî, Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh wrote and sent to Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî a letter thanking him for his kindness.[18]

A year after this **Sulṭân Maḥmûd Khiljî again** took it into his head to wage war, and with nearly 90,000 cavalry he **set out towards the Dakḥan.** When **Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh** heard of this he assembled his army and unfurled his standard for the purpose of repelling the aggression; and at the same time despatched a letter to **Sulṭân Maḥmûd of Gujarât** informing him of the enemy's invasion. When the ruler of Gujarât was informed of the boldness of Maḥmûd Khiljî he at once prepared to oppose him.

Maḥmûd Khiljî through fear of him shrank from the encounter, and halted on the frontiers of Devagiri (Daulatâbâd), where he contemplated his own territory with a look of reflection and anxiety, thinking that perhaps the flood of destruction might surround him, and there might be no opportunity for retreat by the way he had come. When he was assured of the approach of the army of Gujarât, like a gnat which flies from the sound of the wind he beat the drum of return, and hastened away.

When Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh became aware of the flight of his enemy he wrote the following letter to Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî:— [19]

"The sum of the matter is that the envious and malevolent Khiljî had marched towards Daulatâbâd, but on the 1st of the month Rajab, A. H. 867[20] (22nd March, A. D. 1462) his spies informed him of Your Majesty's arrival near Sulṭânpur and Nandurbâr for the purpose of strengthening the foundations of our mutual friendship, and eradicating and destroying that troublesome one. As soon as he heard of our alliance that disappointed wan-

[18] The letter occupies a page and a half of the MS., and being written in extremely ornate style, and interspersed with Arabic quotations, the reader will probably thank me for omitting it.

[19] The greater portion of this letter is omitted for the same reason as the other.

[20] The year is not stated here; but we see from what follows, as well as from the *Mir'ât-i Sikandarî* (lith. ed p. 92) that it was A. H. 867.

derer retreated by the same road as last year; at which we were much rejoiced. Such being the state of affairs it seemed right to inform you. May the enemies of your country always be vanquished, and the rulers of your State always be victorious!"

In this year Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh, son of Humâyûn Shâh died suddenly in the thirteenth year of his age. His nuptial feast had been prepared, when from the *ḥaram* sounds of lamentation and wailing arose, and the assembly of pleasure was changed into one of mourning. The nobles and ministers, the inmates of the *ḥaram* and the court attendants shed tears of blood in their anguish.

His age was eleven years, and the period of his reign, according to the best authorities, was two years and fourteen days. This event occurred on the 13th of Zî-ul-K'adah in the year 867 (30th July, A. D. 1463).

CHAPTER XIII.

Reign of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh II., son of Sulṭân Humâyûn Shâh.

After the death of Sulṭân Niẓâm Shâh the nobles and generals consented to the succession of his brother, **Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh**, who was then in his tenth year; and according to precedent, on the above-mentioned date, Malik-ul Mushâ'ikh Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh and the chief *saiyid*, Saiyid Manjalah bin Saiyid Khasîf, seated him on the throne, recited the *fâtiḥat* and wished him long life and prosperity, and the nobles and generals plighted their fealty to him.

The Sulṭân behaved with liberality towards the doctors of the law, the nobles and ministers, and subjects and army; and invested them with robes of honour, and distributed many valuable presents.

In truth Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh was a king endowed with dignity, of high abilities as a ruler; and his magnificence and pomp exceeded that of any other king of Hindûstân as well as his own ancestors. Among other articles of luxury and regal dignity a thousand Turkî slaves from Kibchâḳ of exceeding beauty waited on him, each standing in his (?) place with folded hands and lowered head. In the time of this monarch the laws of justice and equity were strengthened and confirmed, and the foundations of tyranny and oppression were destroyed.

1 In the beginning of his reign the affairs of government were conducted by **Malik-ut-Tujjâr Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân**; and with the approval of Makhdûmah Jahân and all the *amîrs* and grandees Khwâjah Jahân Turk Shâhî was punished because in the time of the late Sulṭân he had been guilty of negligence in the war with Maḥmûd Khiljî. The power of Malik-ut-Tujjâr was now vastly increased, and his orders were everywhere obeyed throughout the dominions of the Sulṭân.

2 At this time **Niẓâm-ul-Mulk** was sent with an army against the fortress of **Khêrlâ**. On arriving there he encamped within sight of the fortress and laid siege to it. After the siege had lasted some time the defenders capitulated, and Niẓâm-ul-Mulk agreed to give them quarter, so they came out; but the governor of that fortress, who was an infidel, had treacherous designs concealed in his heart, and at the time of taking *pân* he stabbed Niẓâm-ul-Mulk to the heart with a dagger.

3 A learned man has composed a chronogram giving the date of his death.

4 After this occurrence the soldiers of Islâm drawing the sword of vengeance from the scabbard of hatred cut down that fearless impure accursed one who had committed so shameful a deed; they also killed his followers, and cleansed the earth from the impurity of their existence. They then plundered and devastated the fort and surrounding country, seizing all the goods they could lay their hands upon, and levelling with the ground the dwellings of the idol-worshippers.

5 The deceased Niẓâm-ul-Mulk had two adopted sons, slaves of Humâyûn Shâh, whom he himself had educated; one entitled Yaḳrush (or Yaghrûsh) Khân, and the other Faṭḥ-Ullâh Wafâ Khân. The two sons taking the body of their father went with the army to the court of the Sulṭân, and making their reverence at the foot of the throne exposed to the view of the Sulṭân the booty which they had brought. The Sulṭân invested the sons of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk with robes of honour, and conferred on them as a *jâgîr* the whole of that country (Khêrlâ) and its dependencies. He gave Abd-Ullâh[21] the title of 'Âdil Khân, and Faṭḥ-Ullâh that of Daryâ Khân, and exalted them above their equals. This event occurred in A. H. 870 (A. D. 1465).

[21] This is not one of the names previously given.

Marriage of the Sulṭân.

In this year[22] the Sulṭân desiring to marry, orders were given to prepare the marriage feast.

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After the conclusion of the marriage festivities robes of honour and princely gifts were conferred on the nobles, ministers and generals.

In the midst of these affairs **the ruler of Mâlwâ** sent an ambassador named Sharf-ul-Mulk to the court of the Sulṭân with valuable presents and a letter applying for the restoration of Kẖêrlâ, which from olden times had belonged to the rulers of Mâlwâ, but had recently been taken by the Dakẖanî *amîrs*.

When he understood the contents of the letter, the Sulṭân appointed Shekẖ Malik Aḥmad Muḥtasib to proceed to the court of the king of Mâlwâ with a letter and valuable presents. When Shekẖ Malik Aḥmad arrived in Mândû he waited on Sulṭân Maḥmûd; and laying the foundations of peace and prosperity, presented the letter of which he was the bearer, and which was to the following effect: —

"Your Majesty's letter reached its destination, and its contents are understood.

As regards the districts of Aḥmadâbâd Mâhûr which in the reigns of Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh Walî-al Bahmanî and Sulṭân Al-Halîm Al-Karîm Sulṭân 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Aḥmad Shâh, were conquered from the districts of the infidels and have come into our possession; and for the most part under the *ṭarafdârî* of Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ghûrî the revenue of those parts has been paid into our royal treasury; and up to the present time they have been in our possession: you shall therefore withdraw your claim to them, and there shall be no further dispute in the matter.

As for Kẖêrlâ; since it is known on reliable authority that during the reign of the late Sulṭân Aḥmad Shâh Walî Al-Bahmanî it belonged to Hushang Shâh,[23] it shall be restored to you.

As regards the other districts of the infidels, which are for the most part in a state of war and have never professed the faith of

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[22] The Sulṭân was then only thirteen.

[23] King of Mâlwâ.

Islâm, and the inhabitants of which are continually plundering and devastating the dominions of both of us, they shall belong to whomsoever shall take them with the sword.

After ratifying these terms of agreement, which are not subject to alteration, the messenger is to return.''

According to his orders, Shekh Malik Aḥmad ratified the terms of the treaty, and then returned to the capital.

In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân one day gave a public audience, and having conferred titles on the nobles and ministers, made the following eloquent speech in *darbâr* :—

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With the consent of the Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân, the office of prime minister and the regulation of the affairs of the country and people was conferred on Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân, who was ennobled by the title of Khwâjah Jahân, and was given unlimited authority over all the affairs of State. He used his power wisely ; and in whatever direction he turned, he reduced the countries to submission and compelled them to pay tribute. He increased thus the Bahmanî dominions to an extent never achieved by former sovereigns.

After the affairs of government had been put into the hands of Khwâjah Maḥmûd, entitled Khwâjah Jahân, orders were issued for the assembly of a large army with which he proceeded on an expedition against the infidels of Hublî and Bâgalkot, and the troops surrounded the fortress and laid siege to it. The sound of drums and trumpets reached to the heavens, and they took to their arrows, cannons and guns. Eventually the Dakhanî troops took possession of the fortress. They put many of the garrison to the sword, plundered the houses and seizing whatever they could carry off, levelled the rest with the ground.

The Sulṭân by that attack having gained possession of the fortresses of Hublî and Bâgalkot and the remaining forts and districts of that country, reduced the chiefs of those parts to submission, and the latter after having paid the revenues of their districts into the royal treasury, were exempted from further molestation by the troops.

After that the Sulṭân returned to his capital.

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The Sulṭân sends Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân with a large force against the infidels of the Koṇkan.

When the Sulṭân had spent a short time in enjoyment and recreation in his capital he conceived the idea of waging a *jihâd* against the infidels of the forts and hills of the Koṇkan; so he summoned the nobles and ministers of State, and explained his intentions. Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân, standing up among the nobles, respectfully saluted the Sulṭân, and said:—"We are ready to sacrifice our lives in your service and to save you from the trouble incidental to conducting a campaign yourself in person: if Your Majesty so orders it, I will undertake this duty, and by the aid and favour of God and Your Majesty's good fortune I shall clear the base infidels out of all the forts and towns of that country, and take possession of them, and so free Your Majesty's slaves from all anxiety from them."

The Sulṭân highly approved of this proposal, and presented many royal gifts and a special robe of honour to Khwâjah Jahân. A number of nobles and generals were appointed to co-operate with Khwâjah Jahân in conquering the Koṇkan.

Khwâjah Jahân with a large force set out on the march from Bîdar, and halting in the district of **Kolhâpur**, made preparations for the campaign. He summoned the army which was in that place; and from Junnar and Châkan Asad Khân joined him with a large force. Kishwar Khân also arrived with his force from Kalar (?) and **Dâbhol**.

When a sufficiently large force had assembled Khwâjah Jahân proceeded against the rebellious people of that land, and ordered his troops to cut down and burn the jungle which served as a hiding-place for the enemy. When the base infidels of that country became aware of his approach they joined one another in numbers like ants and locusts to oppose him, and nearly fifty engagements took place between the Muhammadans and the infidels. After that the rainy season arrived with its clouds, rain and storms; so Khwâjah Jahân unavoidably adjourned the campaign, and with his army returned to Kolhâpûr, where he remained till the conclusion of the season of damp and mud. Then Khwâjah Jahân raised his standard and resumed the conquest of the country

of the infidels. First of all, marching to Rabankana (?)[24] he took the fort immediately upon his arrival there; and thence he marched to the fort of **Machâl**[25] and quickly succeeded in gaining possession of that also. After that the army marched towards the fortress of **Sangameshvar** which in strength was second only to **Junnar.** As has already been related in these pages, the infidels of those parts in the time of Khalf Ḥasan Malik-ut-Tujjâr had massacred him and the brave soldiers of Islâm.

When the Râya of Sangameshvar heard the news of the approach of the brave minister with his army, and had also heard of the conquest of the forts of that country, fearing vengeance, he was overpowered with terror; and having no other resource he sent a person to Khwâjah Jahân to sue for quarter, and delivered up the fortress of **Khêlnâ**[26] to the agents of Khwâjah Jahân.

This unrivalled minister passed nearly two years in that country and mountainous region. He put many of the base infidels to the sword, and seizing most of the forts and towns from the hands of the infidels, threw the fire of rapine and plunder into the homes of the idol-worshippers, and immense booty and valuable goods, such as horses, elephants, maidens and female slaves of cypress-like forms and tulip-like cheeks, as well as precious jewels and pearls fell into the minister's hands.

Khwâjah Jahân with his army took this immense booty to the court of the Sulṭân, and after making his obeisance, presented so many offerings from the booty which had fallen into his hands in his numerous victories that the beholders were astonished. The Sulṭân, by royal favours and kindnesses, exalted Khwâjah Jahân above all his equals, and conferred on him the titles of Majlis-i Karîm and 'Aẓîm-i A'zam Humâyûn Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân; and orders were given that in the royal assembly none of the nobles or grandees should take precedence of Khwâjah Jahân; and that he should have supreme authority in the government of the Dakhanî dominions.

In this year **the Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân died,** and in A. H. 875 (A. D. 1470) the Sulṭân assumed the reins of government.

[24] Not identified.

[25] A hill close to Vishâlgaḍh, in which rises the river Muchkundi.

[26] The modern Vishâlgaḍh.

In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingânâ and informed the Sulṭân that **the Râya of Orisa,** who was the principal *râya* of Telingânâ, **was dead.**

The Sulṭân was rejoiced to hear this news, and resolved upon the conquest of those dominions; accordingly he held a council of war with his nobles and ministers. **Malik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî,** who was one of the favourites of Humâyûn Shâh, said: — "With Your Majesty's permission I will undertake this duty." The Sulṭân invested him with a special robe of honour, and despatched him with some of the other nobles in that direction.

When the base infidels of those parts heard of the approach of the royal army they assembled an army more numerous than ants and locusts, in the midst of heat like the flames of hell, and came out to oppose the army of Islâm; but however much they strove, attacking and retreating before the conquering army, they were at last reluctantly compelled to take to flight, and the royal army pursued them and put many of them to the sword. 118

After this victory, Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî marched towards the fortress of **Râjamundarî** (Râjamahendrî), and in a short time obtained possession of it. Thence he proceeded towards the **fort of Kondâvîr,** which is situate on the summit of an extremely high mountain and built on hard rock. This fortress he laid siege to and after great exertions it was taken like the others.

Malik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk took most of the forts of those districts, and assigned them to the nobles and ministers on feudal tenure; then hastening back to the royal court he made his obeisance to the Sulṭân and presented to him the booty which he had obtained from the land of the infidels, and he was rewarded by kingly gifts and a robe of honour.

At this same period the prime minister, **Khwâjah Jahân, founded four lofty and beautiful domes and colleges in the bâzâr of Bîdar.** Maulânâ Maḥmûd Shîrâzî has composed a chronogram recording the date of the building of the college[27] (A. H. 876, — A. D. 1471). Up to the time of the writer of these pages — which is a thousand years from the *Hijrah* (A. D. 1591) — those

[27] The words recording the date are ربنا تقبل منا.

buildings and the four domes, in ornament and elegance, are still the admiration of the world.

In the year 879 (A.D. 1474) the Sulṭân sat in state on his throne and gave a public audience to the *amîrs* and nobility, and in elegant language explained as follows: —"The announcers of news have informed me that the district of **Wairagaḍh**, which is in possession of **Jatak Râya**, the ungrateful, is a mine of diamonds; and I am resolved that that district also, like all the others, shall be brought into the possession of the servants of this court; and that in those districts the rites of Islâm shall be introduced, and the symbols of infidelity and darkness be obliterated."

Majlis Rafi' 'Abd-Ulláh 'Âdil Khân; or — according to one historian — Faṭḥ-Ulláh Daryâ Khân[28] (according to the diversity of opinion of historians) stood up, and saluting the Sulṭân, said: — "I hope that I may be intrusted with this duty in order that at the risk of my life I may, by the aid of God and the favour of Your Majesty's good fortune, take the fortress of Wairâgaḍh and conquer the infidels of that country."

The Sulṭân rewarded 'Âdil Khân with kingly gifts, invested him with a special robe of honour and despatched him in that direction with several nobles and ministers. The said 'Âdil Khân with a large force marched towards Wairagaḍh, and in due time encamped in the neighbourhood of that fortress, which was exceedingly lofty and strong, and laid siege to it. The troops displayed much gallantry and strove their utmost, so that the defenders were at last reduced to extremities. When Jatak Râya witnessed the strength and bravery of the attacking force he was overcome with fear, and sued for quarter. He sent a message to Majlis Rafi' 'Âdil Khân, tendering his submission; and said that if a written promise of safe conduct for his family were granted, he would surrender the fort. 'Âdil Khân accordingly gave the required written promise, and took possession of the fort; and leaving some of his troops in charge of it, returned with the rest of his army to the royal court, and presented to the Sulṭân the valuable booty which he had obtained. The Sulṭân rewarded him handsomely, invested him with a special robe of honour, and assigned to him as a *jâgîr* the districts which he had conquered.

[28] These are the two sons of the murdered Niẓâm-ul-Mulk mentioned on page 194.

The Sulṭân's army proceeds to repel the faithless Parkatapah.[29] برکیتہ

In this same year,[30] and in the midst of these occurrences Khwâjah Jahân Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân informed the Sulṭân that the perfidious Parkatapah had withdrawn his head from the collar of obedience, and raising the standard of revolt had taken possession of the island of Goa. He added: — "With Your Majesty's permission I will go and put down this rebellion and chastise that accursed one, conquer the whole country of Kânara and Vijayânagar and annex them to the dominions of Islâm."

The Sulṭân was astonished at the military ardour and bravery of that pure-minded, incomparable minister; but, preferring to enjoy the happiness of himself waging a *jihâd*, he ordered his army to be assembled, and from all quarters countless troops flocked into the court.

The Sulṭân with an army more numerous than drops of rain or the sand of the desert proceeded towards the fortress of Balgaṇw (Belgaum); one which is distinguished and exceptional in strength among all the forts of the Dakḥan: from the foundation of the walls to the niched battlement, all built of cut stone,[31] and it had a deep wet ditch. In due time the Sulṭân encamped in the neighbourhood of that fortress, and being anxious to take it he ordered his troops to be drawn up in great force in front of it. The royal engineers apportioned the ground to the different *amîrs* and heads of the army, and in a few days the attack commenced with loud noise and they battered the towers and battlements with cannons, guns, mangonels[32] and all the implements of war. Each day they used to throw the day of resurrection into the fortress of the infidels, and with the crash of cannon and mangonels destroyed the buildings and dwellings of the infidels and filled in the ditch with earth and rubbish.

When for a long time the troops of Islâm had been contending in this manner with the infidels, the hearts of the latter were filled

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[29] In nearly every place in which this name occurs in the MSS. it is spelt differently, *e. g.*, Parkatapah, Birkanah, Parkatabtah, Parkatîyah, Parkîtah and Barkabtah. It ought to be written Birkâna Rây, or, perhaps, Vikramâditya — *vide Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 6 8.

[30] A. H. 879 (A. D. 1474).

[31] Laterite.

[32] *Manjanîk.*

with the greatest dread of the army of Islâm, and they began to give way. But Parkatapah, who was the chief of the lords of hell, seeing the state of terror of his followers, resolved to resort to stratagem and deception to induce the royal army to raise the siege. He therefore sent a person to the *amîrs* and ministers and bribed them to induce the Sulṭân by some means or other to refrain from taking the fortress. Next day, when the nobles went to make their obeisance to the Sulṭân, they all, with one accord, interceded for the cursed Parkatapah. When the Sulṭân saw the unanimity of the *amîrs* in interceding for the worshippers of idols he smiled a forced smile, and spoke as follows in elegant language: — 'What boldness is this on the part of the cursed Parkatapah, that he dares to contend against our forces! Against us, the foremost among the sons of men, who have inherited the name of 'Sulṭân' and the title of 'Kayân' from our illustrious ancestors: against us who from the time of Baḥman, son of Isfandyâr,[33] to Kayûmarṣ have been illustrious sovereigns. With God's help I will make into fuel for hell that accursed, contemptible one with all his kindred, in order that other rebels may take example from him."

The Sulṭân then urged his troops to make fresh endeavours; and in order to see the progress of the fight, and encourage the hearts of his brave warriors, he rode his pie-bald charger; and from his regal dignity and majesty the strength of the army was increased so that each one became equal to a thousand, and instilled the utmost fear into the hearts of the infidels.

When Parkâtapah saw the helpless state of the garrison, he trembled and himself sent his family from the towers of the fortress to make their obeisance to the Sulṭân, while he himself came out from a tower in front of the royal court, with a rope round his neck, and tying himself to a pillar stood like a slave. The Sulṭân on seeing this and the coming of his family, took pity on the wretched creatures, and forgiving their offences spared their lives; and bestowed the fortress on his minister Khwâjah Jahân.

After that the Sulṭân returned towards his capital; but on the way stopped some days at Bijâpûr, and bestowed handsome pre-

[33] Baḥman, son of Isfandyâr, is commonly known as Ardshîr Darâz-dast — the celebrated Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. The name Bah-man is a Sanskrit compound signifying "possessing arms." — Malcolm's *Hist. of Pers.* Vol. I., Chap. IV.

sents on his nobles and ministers, and rewarded all according to their several merits and services. He then returned to his capital.

In the same year a great famine occurred in the Dakhan ; and since that sudden misfortune originated in Bijâpûr it was generally known as the famine of Bijâpûr : it extended to most of the districts, and many people died of hunger and destitution. After that the Creator of the world and Provider of the necessaries of life opened the doors of comfort in the face of mankind and all kinds of animals ; and in His great mercy freed the people from trouble and disquietude. Praise be to God for His beneficence !

In the midst of these affairs the Sultân was informed that the perfidious **Râya of Orissa,** with a large force of foot and horse, had invaded the territories of Islâm. Nizâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî, who was situated as a barrier between the country of the infidels and the territories of Islâm, owing to the numbers of the enemy's force, was unable to cope with them, hastened towards **Wazîrâbâd.** The Sultân ordered his army to be assembled in all haste at the town of **Malikpur,**[34] near **Ashtûr,**[34] on the bank of a tank which was one of the innovations of Malik Hasan Nizâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî. According to orders they flocked there from all parts, and in a short time an immense force was assembled ; and the Sultân marching with them, in due time arrived near the fortress of **Râjâmundrî** (Râjâmahendrî). From that innumerable force the Sultân picked out 20,000 men with two horses each, and leaving the minister Khwâjah Jahân in the royal camp in attendance on the prince (Mahmûd Khân) he himself with the picked troops proceeded to Râjâmundrî ; and was accompanied on this occasion by the Prince of the Apostles, Shâh Muhabb-Ullâh, grandson of Shâh Ni'mat-Ullâh.

When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Râjâmundri, they saw an immense city, on the farther side of which the infidel **Narsinha Râya** with 700,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand. On this side of the river he had dug a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and guns and all the apparatus of war. Yet notwithstanding all this army and pomp and pride and preparation,

[34] Not identified.

when Narsiṅha Râya heard of the arrival of the Sulṭân's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take to flight.

When the Sulṭân became aware of the flight of the enemy he appointed Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh Daryâ Khân with several other *amîrs* of his conquering army to go in pursuit, and in slaughtering and plundering to strive their utmost. Daryâ Khân, accordingly, with his division pursued the infidels as far as the fortress of Râjâ-mundrî, and laid siege to it. The Sulṭân also followed him with all speed and raised his victorious standards at the foot of the fortress. The noise of the war-drums and trumpets was such that the infidels imagined it was the trumpet of Isrâfîl.[35] Orders were given to the army to surround the fortress, and with cannons, guns, arrows and all the engines of war to reduce the besieged to extremities and deny them the necessaries of life.

It had nearly arrived at that stage that the face of victory was reflected in the mirror of the desires of the royal troops, when suddenly the commander of the fortress cried for quarter. The Sulṭân in his exceeding mercy and kindness took pity on those unfortunate people, pardoned their offences and gave them a written promise of quarter. The governor of the fortress riding on an elephant of gigantic size went to pay his respects to the Sulṭân. He made his obeisance and was enrolled among the Turkî, Tilangî and Habshî slaves.

The Sulṭân with some of the nobles and great men went out on the summit of the fortress, and signified his wish that the rites of the faith of Islâm should be introduced into that abode of infidelity. He appointed to the charge of the fortress the same person to whom it had been formerly assigned.[36]

After that the Sulṭân went forth, and exalting his victorious standards, proceeded towards his capital, where he turned his attention to the administration of justice and looking after his subjects and army. He liberally rewarded the officers and brave men of his army.

In the midst of these events **'Âdil Shâh, Wâlî of Âṣîrgaḍh and Burhânpur,** who had been constantly in subjection to the

[35] The angel of death, who is to blow the last trumpet.
[36] Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî.

Sulṭâns of the Dakhan, and recited the *khuṭbah* and coined money in the name of those kings, and been a staunch friend and ally of theirs, came to Bîdar to pay his respects to the Sulṭân; and the latter several times took part in festive entertainments in the society of 'Âdil Shâh.

The Sulṭân marches to Kâṇchîpura and that neighbourhood.

Khwâjah Jahân is put to death through the deception of people jealous of him.

In the months of the year 885 (A. D. 1480) the Sulṭân was informed that his subjects in the fort of Kondâvîr had broken out in rebellion, and throwing themselves on the protection of Narsiṅha Râya had altogether withdrawn from their allegiance to the rule of Islâm. Undoubtedly to defer or neglect to admonish and chastise them would give rise to sedition and disturbance, and probably lead to the destruction of the country; so the Sulṭân on hearing the news, in the month of Ramaẓân in the above-mentioned year (November, A. D. 1480) ordered his army to be assembled; and marching with it towards the kingdom of Vijayânagar, in due time arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Kondâvîr, and encamping there, completely surrounded it, so as to prevent all entrance or exit on the part of the infidels.

Immediately upon this movement of the army, the rebels in the fortress were much disturbed, and the swords, spears and arrows struck terror to their hearts; so they hoisted flags of submission on the towers and battlements. They all then begged to be forgiven, and said: — "The cause of our swerving from the road of obedience, and travelling in the desert of error was this,— Certain ministers of the royal court, who wished to seize for themselves the government entrusted to them, set over us as their agents a clique of disreputable, tyrannical oppressors who stretched out the hand of oppression and authority over our property and worldly goods; and would not refrain from their unjust practices, however much we represented the circumstances. They would not allow the tale of our oppression to reach the Sulṭân; so at last we were driven to desperation."

When the Sulṭân became aware of the circumstances of those guiltless oppressed people he pardoned their past offences, and in

his exceeding kindness bestowed the fortress with all its dependencies on **Malik Ḥasan Humâyûn Shâhî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî** in order that he might exert himself in cherishing the subjects. But from the words of the inhabitants of the fortress the dust of vexation towards Khwâjah Jahân settled on the margin of the Sulṭân's mind, and he secretly resolved on his destruction.

After the conclusion of the affair of Kondâvîr agreeably to his desires, it occurred to the Sulṭân that the extensive plains are only open to military operations up to the rainy season, and the eradication of the worshippers of Lât and Manât and the destruction of the infidels was an object much to be desired; and as the infidel Narsiṅha, — who, owing to his numerous army and the extent of his dominions, was the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Telingânâ and Vijayânagar — had latterly shown delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and *n'al-bahâ*;[37] therefore the best course to adopt was to trample his country under the hoofs of his horses, and level the buildings with the ground.

It has been related that this Narsiṅha had established himself in the midst of the countries of Kânarah and Telingânâ, and taken possession of most of the districts of the coast and interior of Vijayânagar.

The Sulṭân now, because of the above-mentioned considerations, marched with his army from the above-mentioned fort,[38] and advanced about forty *farsangs*[39] into the country of Narsiṅha, and on arriving within sight of the fortress of **Malûr** — which was the greatest of the forts of that country — encamped there.

When the cursed Narsiṅha obtained information of the approach of the royal army, he became uneasy and took to flight without giving battle; and used to pass each day in a house and each night in some jungle or other.

One day the Sulṭân ordered a letter to be written to the impure Narsiṅha founded upon threats and intimidation, and reminding him of his hostility both former and recent. When this angry and

[37] Money given to foreign troops to abstain from plunder and devastation.

[38] Kondâvîr.

[39] About 136 miles. The actual distance of Malûr from Kondâvîr in a straight line is about 270 miles.

terror-inspiring letter reached that undiscerning infidel, trembling for fear of being attacked by the Sultân's army, and having no other resource, he sent a quantity of valuable presents of jewellery and other valuables, elephants and horses to the Sultân's court, and confessing his weakness, promised obedience and submission.

2 In the midst of these affairs the Sultân was informed that at a distance of fifty *farsakhs*[40] from his camp was a city called Ganjî (**Kânchîpura or Kânchî**), situated in the centre of the dominions of that malignant one, containing temples which were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels and valuable pearls, besides innumerable beautiful slave girls. From the rise of Islâm up to this time no Muhammadan monarch had set foot in it: no stranger had laid hand on the cheek of the bride of that idol-temple; and it was suggested that if the Sultân were to send an expedition against it, immense booty and treasures would doubtless be obtained.

3 On hearing this news the Sultân left the prince and the pure-minded minister, Khwâjah Jahân and some of the nobles and great men in charge of the camp, whilst he himself with nearly 10,000 horse made forced marches from that place; and after they had for one day and two nights, travelled a long distance through an uneven country, on the morning of the second day, which happened to be the 11th of Muharram in the year 886 (12th March, A. D. 1481) the Sultân with Nizâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî, Khân-i 'Âzam 'Âdil Khân and 150 special slaves of the Sultân, outstripped the whole army, and having surrounded the city of Kânchî, entrapped the people of that city of sinners. Out of a number who had been appointed for the protection of the city and temples, some were put to the sword, whilst others by a thousand stratagems escaped with their lives, and took to flight. The royal troops moment by moment and hour by hour following one another were assembling till a large army was collected under the Sultân's standard. After that, at a sign from the Sultân, the troops took to plundering and devastating. They levelled the city and its temples with the ground, and overthrew all the symbols of infidelity; and such a quantity of jewels, valuable pearls, slaves and lovely maidens and all kinds of rarities fell into their hands, that they were beyond computation.

[40] About 170 miles. The actual distance in a straight line from Malûr to Kânchîpura is about 120 miles.

After the successful accomplishment of his desires, the Sulṭân returned from that place to his camp. On arriving there he ordered an elegant poetical account of this celebrated victory to be written, and copies distributed throughout his dominions.

In the midst of these affairs a clique of jealous and malevolent persons who play with the understanding of everyone, and by deceit and knavery under the semblance of friendship, create ill-feeling between father and son, having conceived pure lies and vile inventions which had the appearance of truth, reported them to the servants of the Sulṭân.

The details of this summary and the abridgment of this digression is this — that a number of spiteful persons, "disease in their hearts," who were continually making malignant imputations against the Khwâjah, with a large sum of money, bribed one of his confidential slaves who always kept his seal about him, to affix his seal to a paper, and return it to them; so that by this cunning device they might accomplish their designs. The misguided slave, according to the wishes of those evil persons, readily consented to do that shameful deed.

The conspirators wrote a letter purporting to be from Khwâjah Jahân to Narsiṅha Râya, full of treachery and ingratitude towards his benefactor; and at the time of leisure they presented that letter to the Sulṭân in his private apartment, and secretly gave him that manifest calumny in the garb of sincerity and certainty; and this served to verify the statements of the former calumniators. Since, from the passage of the complaint of the inhabitants of Kondâvîr the dust of alleged injury from the minister had already settled on the mind of the Sulṭân, the contents of this letter put the former matter into motion, and he fully determined to put to death that incomparable minister.

On the 5th of Ṣafar, in the year last mentioned (A. H. 886 = 5th April, A. D. 1481), the nobles being all assembled in the court, the Sulṭân, on pretence of having taken an aperient, retired from the assembly, and sent some one to summon Khwâjah Jahân, and called him into his private apartment. خلوت

It is said that when the Khwâjah was mounting, with the intention of waiting on the Sulṭân, an astrologer represented to

him that it would be advisable for him to put off going into the Sulṭân's presence on that day. The Khwâjah replied: — "The merit of attendance on His Majesty may be productive of eternal happiness and honour to me. Praise be to God, to Whose goodness I bear witness!"

It is related that before the Khwâjah attained the grade of martyrdom, he used continually to repeat this verse :—

"As martyrdom to love is glorious here and hereafter,
"Happy should I be to be carried dead from this field."

ده سال قبل از حال

And in an ode which he had composed in the previous year in praise of the Sulṭân, he foretold this circumstance.

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When the Khwâjah arrived in the presence of the Sulṭân, he kissed the ground in salutation. The Sulṭân asked him: — "If a slave of mine is disloyal to his benefactor, and his crime is proved, what should be his punishment?"

Khwâjah Jahân, without hesitation, replied: — "The abandoned wretch who practises treachery against his lord should meet with nothing but the sword."

The Sulṭân then showed Khwâjah Jahân the forged letter; and when the wretched Khwâjah saw it, he exclaimed: — "By God! this is an evident forgery."[41] He placed his head on the ground and emphatically swore:— "Although this letter is sealed with my seal, your slave has no knowledge of its contents. God forbid! that such base ingratitude should emanate from this slave, with so many past services and risking of life; who has experienced so many acts of kindness from Your Majesty, and who has been distinguished and selected above all his equals.

By God, the jewel of whose commands
The spiritual perforate with their hearts' blood,
It is like the false story of Yusuf and the wolf — [42]
That which his enemies say of this slave."

However much Khwâjah Jahân spoke in this strain, it was of no avail. The Sulṭân, on some excuse, rose up. Jauhar Ḥabshi

[41] A quotation from the *Kur'ân*.

[42] Alluding to Joseph's brethren telling Jacob that he had been torn by a wild beast.

and some of the slaves had previously been ordered to watch for the Sulṭân's signal, and whenever he might look towards them, to kill Khwâjah Jahân, and clear the mind of the Sulṭân from anxiety on account of that minister. At a sign from the Sulṭân they now martyred Khwâjah Jahân by blows of their swords, and threw him in the dust of destruction. And having called As'ad Khân inside they put him also to death.

But the clique who had designed this plot, in a short time met with their just recompense; for shortly afterwards their fraud and deceit became manifest to the Sulṭân: their treachery and ingratitude was proved, and they receiving the punishment due to them, were put to death, and the remainder were banished.

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After the execution of Khwâjah Jahân, the Sulṭân proceeded towards his capital, and looked after the comfort of his soldiers and subjects, treating all with much kindness. After some time he repented of having killed that minister; but since the arrow had sped from the bow and the shaft of fate lodged in the butt, regret was of no avail. For this reason delay and deliberation in punishing is advocated by the greatest of sages, who says: — "One cannot remedy the punished, while he who is not punished can be judged."

In some histories it is related that after the martyrdom of Khwâjah Jahân, the Sulṭân one night in a dream saw the Prophet seated on the throne of judgment, and the father of Khwâjah Jahân appealed against oppression, and demanded retribution for the blood of his son. The Prophet asked him for his witnesses, upon which he produced them; and in accordance with the orders of the Prophet, the law of retaliation was enforced upon the Sulṭân, who from terror of that dreadful dream, awoke; and by compulsion and uneasiness related the dream to his intimates. He was in a constant state of terror owing to that dream.

A year after that the Sulṭân again conceived the idea of waging a *jihâd* against the infidels, and having collected an army in numbers like the sand, he resolved to invade Vijayânagar and seize the Konkan. On the way there the Sulṭân was seized with asthma and fever, and his strength suddenly failed owing to the severity of the fever. Although skilled physicians applied remedies and

did their utmost, they could not cure him: in fact, they only increased his illness. The Sultân seeing death approaching made his will. He sent for Prince Aḥmad — afterwards called **Sultân Maḥmûd**, and having appointed him heir to the throne, died.

The nobles and statesmen rent their clothes and put dust on their heads and began weeping and wailing.

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Sultân Muḥammad Shâh was a king characterized by mildness and bravery, and celebrated for his mercy and generosity; but he had sold the gem of his precious soul for the jewel of the liquid ruby of pure wine, and had burnt the nest of the bird of his spirit in the desire of pleasure. He had a great partiality for the Turkî slaves, and left in their hands the management of all the important affairs of State.

The Dakhanî *amîrs* — who had been brought up by the ancestors of the Sultân — after his death unanimously agreed to the succession of Sultân Maḥmûd Shâh. Outwardly they had mixed with that clique [the Turkîs], like dice of ivory and ebony on a chess-board, but in the end they played with false dice, and suddenly falling upon the Turkîs, threw them on the chess-table of annihilation and misfortune, and arrested them. But eventually the Dakhanî *amîrs* treated one another in the same manner, and crossed swords with one another; so that a country which was adorned like the faces of the fair became utterly dishevelled and confused like the curls and hair of women: some of which occurrences shall after this, please God, be written in the account of Sultân Maḥmûd Shâh.

The age of Sultân Muḥammad was twenty-eight, and the duration of his reign, twenty years and two months. His death occurred on the 5th of the month Ṣafar, in the year 887 (26th March, A. D. 1482). An excellent man has composed the following chronogram of the date of his death:—

"The king of kings of the world, Sultân Muḥammad,
"Who was suddenly plunged into the ocean of death;
"Since the Dakhan became waste by his departure,
"So the 'ruin of the Dakhan'[43] was the date of his death."

[43] The words giving the date are خرابیِ دکن. The same chronogram is given in Firishtah.

CHAPTER XIV.

Reign of Sulṭân Maḥmûd Shâh, son of Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh II.

After the death of the late Sulṭân, the *amîrs* and ministers and leaders of the army unanimously agreed to the succession of **Maḥmûd Shâh**, and accordingly seated him on the throne, and tendered their congratulations.

When Sulṭân Maḥmûd succeeded to the throne, he liberally bestowed presents and conferred favours on all, and spread the wings of mercy and justice over his subjects; and in the early part of his reign all his subjects passed their days in safety and ease.

From the time of the late Sulṭân up to the present the Turkî slaves, who were brave and warlike, had obtained great power, and had brought into their own grasp most of the important affairs of the sovereignty; and in the time of the present Sulṭân also, in the same manner as formerly, most of the State affairs were in their hands, and they had assumed supreme power.

The *amîrs* and *maliks* of the Dakhan now made overtures of friendship with the Turks; but among the great men of the age — or even among the human race in general, as long as it exists — friendship has no possibility of permanency or durability. The Dakhanîs entered into an alliance and made a firm compact with **Kawâm-ul-Mulk Turk**, who was the minister of the principality. The Turkî *amîrs*, relying upon the compact of the Dakhanîs, were careless of [the consequences of] its binding terms.

Some of the Dakhanî *amîrs* told Kawâm-ul-Mulk that Abd-Ullâh 'Âdil Khân, Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and all the Dakhanî *amîrs* and *maliks* intended, after doing homage to the Sulṭân, to take their leave and set out for their own country; but as they were in dread of the Turks, it was necessary that on the following day none of the Turkî attendants should show themselves in the city until these had taken their departure. The simple-minded Kawâm-ul-Mulk, deceived by his enemies, complied with the request; and on the appointed day, in the manner promised, the Turkî *amîrs*, enjoying themselves in their own habitations and assemblies were heedless of the happening of the accidents of fate. But the

Dakhanî *amîrs* with their troops fully armed entered the fort, and while every one of the Turkî *amîrs*, according to instructions, were off their guard in their own houses, the Dakhanîs fell upon them and slaughtered them. A few only, with great difficulty, managed to escape, and hid themselves in out-of-the-way places.

After the massacre of the Turks, Malik Ḥasan Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî was distinguished by royal favours and was exalted to the title of Malik Nâ,ib, and all the affairs of government were placed in his hands. But as for the Dakhanîs who had massacred the clique of Turks after having made a compact with them: in a short time the consequences of that action recoiled on them, and caused them endless misfortunes. Some of that clique hoisted the standard of revolt, and having collected a large army, had the boldness to march against the Sulṭân.

Sulṭân Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, who had been carefully reared under the special superintendence of his father, the Malik Nâ,ib, and who, notwithstanding his tender age, was adorned with abundance of bravery and generosity, learning, justice and all human qualities; in accordance with the Sulṭân's orders had had the districts of Junîr and Châkan and that part of the country conferred on him as a feudal tenure and *jâgîr* — as will hereafter be related in detail in the history of that king. When the news of the revolt of the army of the Dakhan against the king reached him [Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk], he marched with his army to the assistance of the Sulṭân.[44]

When the rebel army heard of his approach they were much alarmed, and began to waver. The prince with his brave troops attacked the rebels, and in one engagement put them to flight, and pursuing them for several *farsangs*, slaughtered many of them, both

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[44] It was this Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk who, a few years afterwards, became the founder of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty of Aḥmadnagar. Though here called "Sulṭân" and "Shâhzâdah," he of course did not bear either of those titles at this time. I have not translated the numerous ornate phrases prefixed to his name. The reason why the author speaks of him in such flattering terms is obvious when we remember that the *Burhân-i Ma,âṡir* is essentially a history of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty: the Bahmanî portion being only an introduction to the rest.

The whole of this paragraph is one long, involved sentence in the text, and I have been obliged to invert the order and split it up in order to make it intelligible in English.

great and little. A few only managed with much difficulty to escape. The prince after being greatly distinguished by royal favours, took his leave, and returning to his own country, looked after the welfare of his subjects in Junîr and Châkan.

After that the Sulṭân marched with his army to make war against the country of Telingânâ and on reaching Warangal pitched his camp within sight of the fortress.

At this time a clique of Ḥabshîs in the service of the Sulṭân had the utmost confidence placed in them; and owing to the power they possessed in the affairs of government, used to behave in a very imperious manner; and being at enmity with the Malik Nâ,îb were constantly trying to get rid of him by repeating to the Sulṭân speeches and stories tending to prejudice him against the minister. So many slanders and lies did they concoct against that incomparable minister that the heart of the Sulṭân was turned against him, and they obtained from the Sulṭân an order for the minister's execution, but waited for an opportunity of carrying it out. When the Malik Nâ,îb became aware of their treacherous intentions towards him, he fled from the camp of the Sulṭân and hastened to the capital, Bîdar. Since the cup of the life of that minister of pure disposition had become full he did not [as he ought to have done] go to Junnar to the prince, Sulṭân Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî, but instead went to Bîdar in hopes of assistance from Pasand Khân, who was one of his dependents. The unreliable Pasand Khân at first made him solemn promises. Outwardly he showed him obedience and submission, but secretly he sent a person to the Sulṭân and gave his promise that when the Sulṭân should arrive in the neighbourhood of the capital, he would put to death the Malik Nâ,îb and send his head out from the fortress, on condition that the Sulṭân should accord him his favour and grant him immunity from his royal displeasure. The Sulṭân, in accordance with the proposal of the foolish Pasand Khân, sent him a written promise of support, and afterwards himself proceeded to Bîdar.

When the Sulṭân arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital, Pasand Khân — who after that became notorious for ingratitude — martyred the Malik Nâ,îb, and having cut off his head, threw it outside the fortress. The Sulṭân then proceeded to his palace and took his ease.

At this time the power and authority of the people of Ḥabshah and Zangbâr in the service of the Sulṭân had increased a thousand-fold, and the other State officials had no longer any power except in name. The whole country and the offices and political affairs of the kingdom and the government treasuries they divided among themselves, and arrogantly ignoring the sovereign, themselves governed the kingdom. But since the star of their good fortune had now reached its zenith, after continuing for a long time undiminished: as is invariably the rule with fortune as well as the revolving heavens — the star of that clique began to decline. The Turks, who are a war-like and blood-thirsty race, got into their hands most of the affairs of importance and the highest dignities; thus Ḥasan Khân Khurâsânî became Khwâjah Jahân, Jamâl-ud-Dîn Ṣâḥib-i Ḥauz obtained the title of 'Ain-ul-Mulk and 'Alî Turk that of Jahângîr Khân.

At the same time **the Sulṭân**, following the example of his illustrious ancestors on the throne, **for the sake of invoking the divine blessing on his bed, married his own sister Fâtimah,** daughter of the late Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, **to His Highness Ḥabîb-Ullâh Shâh 'Aṭiyat-Ullâh**, son of Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh; and according to the time-honoured custom of the kings of India, gave a great entertainment on this occasion. **The fort of Medak,** which is situate in the country of Telingânâ on a piece of solid rock, he gave to them as a wedding present. His other sister he gave in marriage to **His Highness Mirzâ Adham**, son of Shâh Muḥabbb-Ullâh, and settled upon them in feudal tenure the district of Jûkâtî.[45]

Account of the open Rebellion of the Amîrs of the Dakḥan and their shameful fighting against the Sulṭân.

It is related that the Sulṭân made a beautiful flower-garden with a rivulet running through it, the banks of which were lined with trees; and in that garden he spent his time in pleasure and amusement from morning till evening, continually drinking cups of ruby-coloured wine. One night the Sulṭân proceeded to his royal villa, and his troops having dispersed he indulged in pleasure and conviviality; but in the midst of this a great tumult was heard from the streets and bazars of the city and fortress. The whole of

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45 موضع ابنه جوكاتي I have not been able o identify this place.

the army had gone to the royal palace with the intention of deposing the Sulṭân. At that time ten able-bodied and brave young Turks presented themselves before the Sulṭân, and showing dauntless courage, killed numbers of the rebels with their bows and arrows and swords. The Sulṭân with those brave warriors stood in the Shâh Burj of the fortress, which was surrounded by countless infantry and cavalry. Of the ten men who fought so valiantly in the service of the Sulṭân, five were killed. The Sulṭân calling for bow and arrows himself engaged in battle, and killed many of the rebels. He summoned Ḥasan Khwâjah Jahân with all the Khurâsânîs and ordered them to guard the tower and walls. They went to the palace, but as the evil-doing rebels had barricaded the fortress from inside, they scaled the tower and walls of the fortress by means of ladders, and dispersed the rebels from round the Shâh Burj. When the active Turks and foreigners in attendance on the Sulṭân were assembled in the Shâh Burj in numbers beyond computation, the Sulṭân ordered them to extend themselves round the towers and walls of the fortress, and fire on the enemy; and this they did. 'Alî Turk Jahângir Khân with a number of the brave foreigners occupied the streets and cut off the retreat of the rebels, while Ḥasan Khwâjah Jahân with a few of his men hastened to the gate, and killed numbers of the enemy. When the day dawned the Sulṭân ordered his troops to mount and prepare for battle. He himself, fully armed, was mounted on a swift horse. Then being joined by Ḥasan Khwâjah Jahân with the Turkî and Khurâsânî troops, all well armed, they attacked their opponents. Since the Sulṭân in person took part in the fight, by his good fortune and the valour of his troops, the enemy were routed and put to flight. When the sun rose, the rebels from fear of the Royal troops hid themselves. Many of them, in fear of their lives, threw themselves from the towers and battlements, and by the same road went to the dwelling of perdition. A few who were hidden in nooks and corners, the royal troops sought out; and dragging them out from their hiding-places, put them to death.

7 After this defeat of his enemies the Sulṭân indulged in pleasure and amusement.

8 In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân ordered his architects to build a lofty and beautiful palace inside the fortress, near the Shâh Burj. The skilful builders, according to orders, laid the founda-

tions, and the Sulṭân himself for a long time used to watch attentively the progress of the work.

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After the completion of the palace, the Sulṭân used to spend most of his time in it in a continual round of voluptuous amusements.

In the midst of these events the Sulṭân received intelligence that **Kâsim Turk** — who had received the title of **Khawâṣṣ Khân**, and afterwards that of **Barîd-ul-Mamâlik**,[46] and had been given the town of **Kaṇdhâr** and its dependencies on feudal tenure — was in a state of rebellion. It was necessary to endeavour to put out the fire of this rebellion as quickly as possible, in order that the injury caused by the sedition might not spread through the whole country, and render the remedying of it not easily practicable. Consequently the Sulṭân being firmly resolved to suppress it, appointed **Dilâwar Khân Ḥabshî** (who, owing to the abundance of his followers, the multitude of his army, his wealth and magnificence, had been selected for the command of the army) to put down **the rebellion of Kâsim Turk.** Dilâwar Khân, according to orders, with his warriors and well-trained cavalry moved towards Kaṇdhâr. When Kâsim Turk became aware of his approach, he prepared for battle and engaged Dilâwar Khân.

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As Kâsim Turk had not sufficient strength to oppose the army of Dilâwar Khân, he thought the best thing he could do was to retreat; so he ceased fighting, and taking to flight set out from Kaṇdhâr towards Bâlkoṇḍa. Dilâwar Khân pursued the enemy and wished to separate them and slaughter them. But suddenly a vicious elephant from the army of Dilâwar Khân getting beyond the control of his driver ran into the midst of the army, and overthrowing the horse of Dilâwar Khân, trampled him to death. Kâsim Barîd on hearing of this was much rejoiced, and turning round hurried towards Dilâwar Khân's camp; and without the trouble of fighting, obtained possession of all Dilâwar Khân's

[46] Kâsim Barîd, who shortly afterwards founded the Barîd-Shâhî dynasty. Sulṭân Kulî, who afterwards founded the Kuṭb-Shâhî dynasty, also had the title of Khawâṣṣ Khân before he acquired that of Kuṭb-ul-Mulk. He took a prominent part in the fighting above described, and the latter title was given him in recognition of his services on this occasion. — *Vide* Briggs, Vol. III. p. 343.

baggage, elephants and horses. Then binding the fillet of opposition to lawful authority on the forelock of revolt, he hoisted the standard of rebellion.

At that time most of the *amîrs* and *wazîrs* of the different provinces of the dominions having withdrawn their necks from the collar of obedience and subjection, had hoisted the standard of rebellion in their own districts; consequently the Sulṭân was quite incapable of subduing the rebellion of Kâsim Barîd. The only remedy he could see was to enter with him through the door of reconciliation and forgiveness by promising him a share in the government and making a treaty with him to that effect, render him secure. On this account **the Sulṭân sent Ḳâsim Barîd a written treaty**; and the latter having hopes of realizing his ambition of obtaining the government of the kingdom of the Dakhan and the rank of Mîr-i Jumlah, proceeded to the royal court and taking in his own hands the reins of government, he assumed sovereign authority; so that, except in name, no power remained to the Sulṭân. And not content even with this, he quarrelled with the *amîrs* and *wazîrs*, his object being to make them all subject to him. But the *amîrs* would not submit to the government of Kâsim Barîd. They opened the door of opposition and strife, and joining together in opposing Kâsim Barîd, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. From all quarters of the dominions armies being assembled marched towards the capital, Bîdar. When this distressing news reached Kâsim Barîd in the city of **Bîdar** he told the Sulṭân to issue an order for the mobilization of the royal army; and an immense army being assembled the Sulṭân marched with it to meet the rebels.

In the midst of these affairs the prince, **Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Nizâm-ul-Mulk**, coming from Junnar, joined the royal camp, and after kissing the Sulṭân's hand made ready for the undertaking and was treated with kingly courtesy.[47] After that, the Sulṭân marched towards **Udgîr**; and at the town of Devati[48] the opposing forces met one another. Although the hostile *amîrs* entered into a

[47] Aḥmad Baḥrî does not appear to have shown any resentment on account of the murder of his reputed father, the Malik Nâ,ib.

[48] Not identified, but must be somewhere between Bîdar and Udgîr.

correspondence with the Sulṭân, imploring him to oust Kâsim Barîd from the government of the dominions of the Dakhan, in order that they might submit themselves loyally to the Sulṭân, and cease fighting; yet as the Sulṭân had no longer any control over the affairs of State, he was unable to comply with their request.[49] The *amîrs* were then under the necessity of fighting against the army of Sulṭân Maḥmûd. It is related that when the Dakhanî *amîrs* attacked the army of the Sulṭân, both sides fought so furiously that they made the dust of the battle-field like a tulip garden, and the dead were thrown in heaps on the surface of the ground. Kâsim Barîd seeing the bravery of the *amîrs* knew there was no use in continuing the battle, so he took to flight. In the midst of this the Sulṭân, from the charging of the warriors of the army, and the horses and elephants dashing against one another, fell off his horse, and his delicate body became acquainted with the dust of the battle-field. When the *amîrs* saw their king fallen, they were excessively afflicted and ashamed. They dismounted from their horses and kissed the ground before the Sulṭân; and mounting him on a swift horse, sent him on to the capital. Each of the *amîrs* then turned towards his own country. Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk also, taking his leave of the Sulṭân, turned towards the district of Junnar. After the *amîrs* had dispersed and gone to their own districts, Kâsim Barîd again went to court and assumed supreme power. In several histories it is stated that this event occurred in the latter days of the reign of the Sulṭân, and that he died one year after that: as will hereafter, please God! be related.

In the midst of these events there came to the ears of the Sulṭân a memorial to the following effect from **Malik Yusuf Turk**, who had obtained the title of **Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân**, and was at that period in possession of **Râyachûr, Belgâon, Targal [Naregal?]** and other towns[50]: —

"**Malik Dînâr Dastûr-i Mamâlik**, an Abyssinian eunuch, having placed his foot outside the path of obedience and subjection, has become a traveller on the paths of rebellion and resistance.

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[49] From this period may be said to date the establishment of the Barîd-Shâhî dynasty and the overthrow of the Bahmanî.

[50] He was the founder of the 'Âdil-Shâhî dynasty.

This slave of the court in concert with Your Majesty, will bring about the punishment of that perfidious unbeliever by placing the lightning-striking sword in his embrace, and so recompense his ingratitude and rebellion. At this time again, **Malik Khûsh/ Kadam Turk Azîz-ul-Mulk**, who was formerly a ruler, having become a fellow-traveller with that black-faced, abandoned one, they have scratched the face of fidelity and agreement with the nail of oppression and hypocrisy."

Immediately upon hearing these dreadful words, the fire of the Sultân's world-consuming anger blazed up, and he ordered the royal army of Turks and Khurâsânîs to be got ready for battle and assembled at court in order to extirpate these worthless enemies. When the Sultân heard of the assembly of the army he mounted his horse and hoisted the royal standard. Kâsim Barîd-i Mamâlik — who was the [real] ruler of the kingdom of the Dakhan — with other *amîrs* and nobles set out with the Sultân.

When Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Masnad-i 'Alî Fakhr-ul-Mulk obtained information of the approach of the Sultân, they hastened to join the royal camp and make their obeisance.

The Sultân then paying attention to the arrangement of his army, gave the command of the right wing to Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Masnad-i 'Alî Malik Fakhr-ul-Mulk; and that of the left wing to Malik Kâsim Barîd-i Mamâlik and Kadam Khân and Jahângîr Khân; while the Sultân himself with the armed Turks and Afghâns and the warriors of Hind and Khurâsân, with all the flower of the army, hoisted his standard in the centre. The proud rebels too busied themselves in preparing to encounter the royal army. They disposed their forces in perfect readiness, and hoisted the standard of bravery and boldness. After that, the warriors of each of the two forces, like two mountains of iron and steel, getting into motion, rushed on one another, and drawing the sword of hatred from the scabbard of vengeance, separated the heads of the leaders from their bodies and threw them on the dust of destruction. Malik Fakhr-ul-Mulk charging from the right wing, overthrew many of the cavalry of his opponents. Malik Kâsim Barîd-i Mamâlik also fought bravely with the left wing and killed numbers of the enemy; and the warriors and active Khurâsânîs, who were posted in the centre, fought with much valour and killed

many of the enemy. Sulṭân Kulî Khawâṣṣ Khân Hamadânî (who afterwards became entitled Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk, and ascended to the highest of the steps of dignity and greatness),[51] with Ḥasan Turk Sulṭânî, showed such valour in that battle that he out-did Rustam and Isfandyâr. Malik Dînar Dastûr-i Mamâlik, who was the leader of the opposing forces, was taken prisoner by Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân; and the rest of the wretched and contemptible rabble, withdrawing from the field, took to flight; and half of them managed with much difficulty to escape.

After this defeat of his enemies, the Sulṭân dismounted and gave thanks to God; and the *amîrs* and *khâns* making their obeisance, congratulated the Sulṭân on his victory. Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân in the assembly of *maliks*, *khâns*, *amîrs* and nobles, placing his head on the ground of submission, entreated the Sulṭân to pardon Malik Dînâr. The Sulṭân lending a favourable ear to the request of 'Âdil Khân, pardoned his enemy, and ordered that all his property in money and goods, whatever the troops had carried off, should be restored to him.

After that, the Sulṭân, with his victorious army, marched towards **Kalburgâ** and **Sagar**, and, chastising his adversaries there with the sword, freed the subjects and inhabitants of that part of the country from the evils of sedition and injustice. His troops laid siege to the fort of Sagar and took it by force. From that place the Sulṭân moved towards his capital, Bîdar; and, on his arrival there, the *shekhs*, *'ulamâ* and learned men hurried forth to meet him; and having made their obeisance, each of them, according to his rank, was distinguished by royal favours.

When the Sulṭân had taken up his abode in the capital, he turned the light of his justice, kindness, benevolence and favour — like the sun at mid-day — on his subjects and all the inhabitants of the country; and tyranny, oppression, ruin and desolation he changed into justice, equity, prosperity and cultivation.

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[51] He afterwards founded the Ḳuṭb-Shâhî Dynasty of Golkonḍa. According to the *Târîkh-i Muḥammad Ḳuṭb-Shâhî*, this victory was chiefly due to the personal exertions of Kulî Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk, and his services on this occasion were rewarded by his being appointed governor of the province of Telingâṇâ, with the title of Amîr-ul-Umrâ.

In this year[52] **Bahâdur Gîlânî**, who after Kishwar Khân Khwâjah Jahânî, had taken into his own possession the country of the Koṇkan Dâbhol, Goa and all the ports and coast-line of the Dakhan, and had collected a large army. Several ships freighted with valuable property and Arab horses, belonging to Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî and his merchants, had come into ports which were in his possession, and, having tyrannically seized them, he looted the whole of the cargoes of the ships. Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî sent a *farmân* about this to Bahâdur Gîlânî, demanding the restitution of the ships and their cargoes. In reply to this Bahâdur Gîlânî used intemperate language, and sent back nothing. Having no other resource, **Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî** sent an ambassador with many presents to the court of Sulṭân Maḥmûd Bahmanî, and sent by his hands a letter concerning the high-handed conduct of Bahâdur Gîlânî, to the following effect :—

"For a long time a strong friendship has existed between our dynasties, and, moreover, the friendship which existed between our ancestors has descended by heritage to their progeny. At this time Bahâdur Gîlânî, the servant of Kishwar Khân Khwâjah Jahânî — who is seated in the place of Kishwar Khân, and who has shut in his own face the doors of obedience and subjection[53] —

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[52] The year is not stated, but we see from Firishtah that it was A. H. 899 (A. D. 1493).

The late minister, Maḥmûd Gâwân Khwâjah Jahân, was a native of Gîlân — a province of Persia (*vide* p. 163) —and seems to have surrounded himself by his own countrymen. Bahâdur Gîlânî was doubtless one of these countrymen. This Kishwar Khân is not mentioned elsewhere, but one can see from his name that he was a *protégé* of the late Khwâjah Jahân's. He seems to have been governor of the Koṇkan and that part of the kingdom formerly governed by Khalf Ḥasan Malik-ut-Tujjâr, and was succeeded in that government by Bahâdur Gîlânî. The latter broke into rebellion on hearing of the unjust execution of his patron (see Bayley's *History of Gujarât*, pp. 217-19, where the cause of Bahâdur Gîlânî's hostility to Gujarât is explained), and but for this quarrel with Gujarât, would probably have succeeded in founding a kingdom for himself: as it was, he exercised independent sway, unchecked for thirteen years, over the whole of the Koṇkan, besides holding several districts and forts of the Dakhan — such as Sâtârâ, Pânâlâ, Miraj and Jamkhandî.

[53] From this it appears that Kishwar Khân was the legitimate governor of the Koṇkan province, and Bahâdur Gîlânî a subordinate under him; but Bahâdur Gîlânî ousted Kishwar Khân, and then broke into rebellion. The words of the text are:—

درینوقت بهادر کیلانی چاکر کشور خان خواجه جهانی که بجای کشور خان نشسته و ابواب اطاعت و انقیاد بر روی خود بسته

has taken possession of all the sea ports and fortresses of the coast of the kingdom of the Dakḥan from Dâbhol, Goa, Barbolî,[54] Chandan-Wandhan, Sâtârâ and Panâḷâ[55] to Miraj, Jamkhandî, etc. In the excess of his presumption he has hoisted the standard of rebellion, and has forcibly taken possession of twenty ships laden with various goods, jewels, cloths and thorough-bred horses, and seized the merchants also. Not content even with this he has sent to the port of Mâhim [Bombay] 200 ships and *ghurâbs* filled with his tyrannical army; levelled that place with the ground; burned several *Ḳur,âns* and *masjids;* thrown into the sea most of the merchants of the country, and having made prisoners of two *amîrs* of Gujarât, who were in the port at the time, has carried them off with him. When I heard this news I wrote and sent to him a *farmân* on the subject, and he sent an excessively rebellious reply. As he is one of the servants of Your Majesty's court, it seemed necessary to bring to your hearing the detailed circumstances of his rebellion, in order that you might arrange to drive away that abandoned rebel; for his expulsion is an absolute necessity, from religious as well as from worldly motives. If you do not undertake to repulse him from your direction, then give me leave and I shall chastise him from my side."

When the Sulṭân had heard the contents of the letter of Sulṭân Maḥmûd of Gujarât, he said:—"The driving away of that synopsis of the lords of rebellion and sedition is absolutely necessary. For the sake of my own peace of mind that man of evil disposition must, by some means or other, be chastised as an example to others." But it occurred to the royal mind that in the first instance the ears of the understanding of Bahâdur Gîlânî should be weighted by the pearls of kingly exhortation and admonition; then if he did not act according to orders, but persisted in opposition, he should be handed over to the executioner. A letter to the following effect was therefore written to Bahâdur Gîlânî according to the Sulṭân's orders:—

"Be it known to you that a letter has arrived from Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî, containing such and such matters, on hearing which the king was much astonished. It is necessary that

[54] Not identified. Perhaps Dâpoli.

[55] An isolated hill fort a few miles from Kolhâpur.

immediately upon receipt of this royal *farmán*, you shall send to the royal court all the goods belonging to Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî and his merchants, and send the ships back by sea. Do not on any account put your foot beyond your own blanket.[56] The prisoners, with the elephants and goods, are to be handed over to the deputy of the court. Show no delay or negligence of any kind; and in future do not open on yourself the door of sedition and trouble, nor set your foot on the road of rebellion and ingratitude."

When the royal mandate had been written and despatched to Bahâdur Gîlânî, the Sulṭân ordered eloquent secretaries to write in elegant language a reply to the letter of Sulṭân Maḥmûd Gujarâtî. According to orders, the secretaries wrote a letter in exceedingly ornate language; the substance of which was as follows: —

"From the olden days a strong friendship and unanimity has existed between our two dynasties, and the relations were such that the enemies of this State were also the enemies of your dynasty; and on the other hand the same was the case with the friends of each. On this account a *farmán* has been sent to Bahâdur Gîlânî: if he obeys it and sends to you the property, elephants, cloths and ships, he will be secure; otherwise the flame of my world-consuming wrath shall burn up the harvest of his life, and he and his followers shall be given to the wind of destruction. What necessity is there for Your Majesty to send an army against him?"

When the answer to Sulṭân Maḥmûd's letter was written, the Gujarâtî ambassador was given permission to return, taking with him rarities and presents innumerable.

But when Bahâdur Gîlânî heard of the coming of the Sulṭân's *farmân* to him, he sent a person to stop the messengers on the road, and not to allow them to go on and show the Sulṭân's *farmân*. The messengers then wrote to court an account of what had happened to them, and the rebellious conduct of Bahâdur Gîlânî. When the Sulṭân was informed of the open rebellion of Bahâdur Gîlânî, he issued an order that the royal troops from all quarters should proceed to the court; and in accordance with orders, from every town and fortress, immense numbers of troops marched towards the royal court, and mustered there.

[56] *I. e.*, mind your own business.

After that the Sultân mounted his horse and marched with his army towards **Mangalberah** [Mangalvedhâ].[57] In due time the Sultân arrived at Mangalvedhâ — a fort, the towers and walls of which Bahâdur Gîlânî had, with much trouble and tyranny, constructed of hard stone, and had committed the defence of the fortress to a numerous force of cavalry and infantry. Notwithstanding the strength of the fortress, immediately upon the arrival of the royal army, the defenders were overpowered with terror. Abandoning the fort they took to flight; and the royal troops without trouble or difficulty took that fort which in strength was like the azure vault. The Sultân assigned the fort on feudal tenure to Masnad-i 'Âlî Fakhr-ul-Mulk; and from there he marched towards the fort of Jamkhandî. Bahâdur Gîlânî at this time was engaged in besieging this fort, but when he obtained information of the arrival of the royal army, he abandoned the siege; and through fear of the royal army, thinking caution necessary, he withdrew into hiding.

Mukaddam Nâ,îk, when relieved from the difficult affair of the siege, setting out with followers, dependants, cavalry and retinue, hastened to the royal court and was enrolled among the special servants of the State and distinguished by kingly favours.

At this time Malik Sultân Kulî Hamadânî, who was entitled Khawâss Khân, being approved of by the Sultân, was exalted to the title of "Kutb-ul-Mulk;" and the towns of **Kotaghir** and **Durgi**[58] and several villages were given to him on feudal tenure. Abr Khân, son-in-law of Ulugh Khân Jân Begî, making himself commander of the right wing, took the title of Haidar Khân, and had the town of Pâtrî and the Nânder direction, besides other places, conferred on him on feudal tenure. And having given the title of Abr Khân to Malik Muhammad, son of Ulugh Khân, the Sultân marched towards Mubârakâbâd Miraj. At that time the *wâlî* of that place was an infidel named Bûnah,[59] who had about 1,00,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. In attendance on the royal stirrup,

[57] Scott makes a curious and very confusing mistake in calling this place "Mangalore." — Scott's *Ferishtah*, Vol. I. pp. 190 and 192, 4to ed.

[58] دوركی — not identified. This Kutb-ul-Mulk shortly afterwards founded the Kutb-Shâhî Dynasty.

[59] This name is variously written Bûnah, Pûnah and Bûtah. I cannot say which is the correct spelling. Briggs writes it Pota.

on behalf of Sultân Aḥmad Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, were Ẓarîf-ul-Mulk Afghân and other *amîrs* beside him who were sent for the purpose; and on behalf of Majlis-i 'Âlî Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk of exalted dignity was Daryâ Khân — the greatest of the *khâns* of the time — with 2,000 men. There was also Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân with the whole of his troops; and the whole of the Ḥabshî, Turkî and Dakḥanî *amîrs* and *wazîrs* were in attendance on the Sultân. Though several of the Turks and intrepid Dakḥanîs secretly sympathised with the blood-thirsty Bahâdur, yet, through fear of the Sultân, they did not hasten to show it.

The royal army surrounded the fort of Miraj, and engagements used to take place daily; till the son of Bûnah Nâ,îk, the governor of Miraj, was killed. Bûnah Nâ,îk and his followers then, becoming terrified at the assaults of the royal army, cried for quarter; and their agreeing to give a reasonable amount of money, Arab horses and elephants was made the condition on which their freedom was granted and their lives spared. Bûnah and his followers went forth from the fortress, and had the honour of kissing the ground before the Sultân, and were made content with kingly favours and courtesies; and through the infinite kindness of the Sultân all the people of Miraj obtained security for their lives and the lives of their families. The troops of Bahâdur Gîlânî who were in that fort were given the option of accepting pay and service under the Sultân's government or going to join the misguided Bahâdur. Of that band, each one who accepted service under the State was distinguished by rewards and kingly courtesies; and all who elected to join Bahâdur were given permission to depart with their horses and arms. In truth never have any of the kings of the world shown such mercy and kindness as he who after defeating his enemies gave permission to depart, and sent on to his opponents 2,000 cavalry of the enemy with their horses and arms.

The tyrant Bahâdur after hearing this news was much confounded, and coming forth from Dâbhol, hid himself in the uncultivated country and jungle. He then sent to the royal court Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ullâh Yazdî (who was Malik-ut-Tujjâr of that province) to make terms with the Sultân. Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ullâh taking with him a written agreement from Bahâdur, in which the latter promised to abstain from opposition and rebellion, hastened to the royal presence, where he had the honour of kissing the ground, and

was treated with much kindness and courtesy. The Sultân in his infinite mercy and kindness lent a favourable ear to the requests of Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ulláh. **He consigned to Bahâdur the whole of the territory of which he was in possession,** and drew the pen of forgiveness through the volumes of his crimes on condition that he restored the property and elephants of the Sultân of Gujarât and the goods of the merchants; also that he should send a reasonable sum of money each year without delay or negligence to the public treasury, and in future not practise tyranny or sedition or become a traveller on the road of rebellion and resistance.

Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ulláh, having obtained the completion of his wishes, took his leave of the Sultân and proceeded towards the fortress of Kalhar [Karhâd ?]. After that, Bahâdur Gîlânî at the suggestion of the devil got a perverse idea into his head; evil impulses made him proud and threw him off the right track of obedience and subjection; and the agreement he had made through Khwâjah Ni'mat-Ulláh he considered as though it did not exist. The fortresses which he held on feudal tenure he garrisoned with experienced veteran troops; and the whole of his army and followers he gratified by increased rewards; then making the jungle his own fortress he took up his abode there. When the Sultân heard of the flight of Bahâdur into the jungle and uncultivated country he ordered Dilâwar Khân Habshî and 'Ain-ul-Mulk Turk with 5,000 cavalry armed with spears and 1,00,000 well-armed infantry to lay siege to the fortress of Kalhar and not fail to take it. He sent 7,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry under the command of several celebrated *amîrs* to seize the towns and districts of that province; and he himself with all the *amîrs* and *wazîrs* went after Bahâdur, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the jungle in which that evil-doer remained and had concealed himself by a hundred artifices. When the Sultân had remained a long time in that place Bahâdur's predestined moment drew near; the jungle became his prison, and the claws of the falcon *Ajal*[60] seized him by the collar and drew him out of that jungle. The eye of his judgment became sightless and unable to discern the advisable course; consequently, with the intention of fighting, he left the jungle for the open country. When the spies reported to the Sultân that the base rebel had come out of the jungle, he directed

[60] The period or end of life, the predestined moment, death.

Fakhr-ul-Mulk with his eldest son, Ratan Khân, and Zarîf-ul-Mulk Afghân (one of the *amîrs* of Sulṭan Aḥmad Bahrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, who had come to the assistance of the Sulṭân) with 3,000 brave spearmen to oppose the ungrateful Bahâdur. And he gave strict injunctions to the *amîrs* that if they should catch Bahâdur they should refrain from killing him, and bring him alive to the foot of the throne. But since the measure of the life of that unworthy one was brimful, the period of his security had expired, and the orders as to sparing his life were of no avail. According to orders the *amîrs* and brave troops of the Sulṭân proceeded towards that synopsis of the lords of rebellion, and the two armies, eager for the fray, met in the neighbourhood of that jungle, and an engagement ensued.

* * * * * *

The bark of Bahâdur's life fell into the whirlpool of destruction and death, and all his valour availed not to prevent it. In the midst of the battle he was engaged in single combat with Ratan Khân, who was the Rustam of the age, and they stained the dust of the battle-field with one another's blood; but the royal good fortune aiding him, Ratan Khân overcame his antagonist, and with his spear he dragged Bahâdur from his saddle and threw him to the ground, so that he resigned his soul to its Creator. **Ratan Khân then cut off the rebel's head** and threw his body on the ground; thus freeing the world from his sedition.

When Ratan Khân cut off the rebel's head and sent it to the royal court, the Sulṭân exhibited much regret;[152] for[153] Bahâdur Gîlânî in manliness and bravery was unrivalled. In the presence of the court assembly the Sulṭân said:—"Would to heaven he had been caught alive! that I might have pardoned his crimes and given him back his government: it is a pity that so brave a man should be killed." After that,[154] in accordance with orders, the head of that tyrant was sent to the capital, Bîdar, and despatches announcing the victory were sent in all directions. This event happened on the 5th Ṣafar, A. H. 900 (5th November, A. D. 1494).

After the mind of the Sulṭân was freed from anxiety regarding Bahâdur, he marched with his army towards the fort of Panhâlâ, which is situate on the summit of a hill. In loftiness its towers rivalled the heavens, and the battlements of its portico used to boast of superiority to the seventh heaven. * * *

Notwithstanding its elevation, the fort had a very extensive, beautiful and pleasant open space inside the fortress with abundance of good water, trees and fruits innumerable and much cultivation.

* * * * * *

When the victorious standards of the Sulṭân appeared round that fort, the garrison, being unable to resist the attack of the royal army, asked for quarter and a written treaty of favourable terms. The Sulṭân gave them hopes of their obtaining favourable terms, and the *muḳaddam* of the fortress delivered the keys to the servants of the court. The Sulṭân, for the purpose of viewing the fort, ascended the hill and gave thanks to God that such a fortress had been taken without trouble. The Sulṭân with much booty and countless treasure then descended from the fortress to the foot of the hill, and ordered his army to proceed to Bijâpur, whilst he himself with some of his favourite *amîrs* and intimate companions went to see the Port of **Mustafâ-âbâd Dâbhol.**

When he arrived there he conferred many favours and kindnesses on his subjects and the people of that place; and having spent several days in the happiness of viewing the sea-coast and the gardens of that country he bestowed several of Bahâdur Gîlânî's districts on Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk, some on Makhdûm Khwâjah Jahân; and the remainder he gave on feudal tenure to Malik Ilyâs Turk; and it was arranged that he should send to the public treasury each year the sum of ten *laks* of *tankah*; and, living in a manner the reverse of Bahâdur Gîlânî, should not become a traveller on the paths of sedition.

After that, the Sulṭân proceeded towards his capital, and, stopping in the town of Miraj, divided among his troops the booty which he had collected in that country and in that war. He then returned with his army to the capital; and those *amîrs* who had accompanied him on that occasion, such as Daryâ Khân, son of Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, and Dilâwar Khân Ḥabshî and Ẓarîf-ul-Mulk Afghân — one of the *amîrs* of Sulṭân Aḥmad Baḥrî Niẓâm-ul-Mulk — he distinguished by handsome robes of honour and increased dignities; after which he dismissed them to their own districts.

In the beginning of the year 903[61] (A.D. 1497) from the abundance of royal favours conferred on him, the power of **Sulṭân Kulî Kuṭb-ul-Mulk Hamadânî** being much augmented, and he becoming

[61] 902, according to Firishtah.

distinguished above all his equals, obtained suzerainty over all the feudatory chiefs of Telingânâ — such as Jahângîr Khân, Sanjar Khân, Kiwâm-ul-Mulk, Ullugh Khân, Muḳrab Khân and others besides — and added to his former possessions the towns of **Warangal**[63] and **Kovilakoṇḍâ** with their dependencies. In these days perverse ideas again found their way into the brains of several rebels — such as the young Yusuf, Râ,î Khân Kinnauji, Muḥammad Âdam, Kabîr Yaghrush Khân and others beside them who had procured the favour of the Sulṭân — and they entered into a compact with one another for the purpose of exterminating the Turks. Mîrzâdah Shams-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ulláh (who of all the members of the assembly was most nearly related to the royal family) became a confidant of theirs in this affair. But before their seditious ideas could be carried into action the Turkî *amîrs* obtained information of the conspiracy; and according to the saying that "A misfortune should be remedied before its occurrence,"[63] they took the initiative by going in a body to the royal court; and the foolish Yaghrush Khân with the whole of the other conspirators, who were off their guard in their own houses, were summoned to the court and put to death. Mîrzâ Shams-ud-Dîn Ni'mat-Ulláhî was also put to death as an accomplice of those misguided people. As much disturbance arose in the city and fortress the Sulṭân went up into the Shâh Burj, and shut the doors of entrance and exit The Turkî *amîrs* sent some one to summon Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh. They brought him into the court of the Sulṭân; and in his presence they emphatically swore, saying: — "These slaves, with regard to the Sulṭân, except devotion and obedience, have no thought in their hearts; and have no idea whatever of rebellion against the Sulṭân. Not like that clique of intriguers who had thoughts of rebellion in their hearts, and who allowed thoughts of deception to enter their minds; on which account we brought them to punishment. We are the same servants of the court of the king as we have always been."

Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh then waited on the Sulṭân, and repeated their speech to him *verbatim*, and the Sulṭân extinguished the fire of that sedition and disturbance, but his kingly authority both in the distant and near parts of the dominions died out. Each of the *amîrs* in his own district proclaimed his independence, and shut in

[62] Written Karangal in the text; but it is evidently a mistake.

[63] *Anglice*, "Prevention is better than cure."

his own face the door of obedience and submission. The government of the kingdom of the Dakhan now devolved on Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk; and the Sultân, as in former days, again treated that intrepid servant with much kindness and graciousness, and now increased his rank above that of all the other *amîrs* and *wazîrs* by making him *amîr-ul-umrâ* of the whole of the dominions of Telingânâ. At this period he also removed the provinces of Bijâpur and Mangalvedhâ and their dependencies from the possession of Malik Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân and consigned them to Majlis-i Rafî' Malik Yusuf Turk 'Âdil Khân. The *parganah* of Ausâ and Kandhâr, as in former times, was held in *jâgîr* by Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kâsim Barîd-i Mamâlik, and there was much quarrelling and opposition between him and the other *amîrs* of the districts; and now, when Barîd-i Mamâlik was in the fort of Ausâ, the *amîrs*, thinking it a good opportunity, represented to the Sultân that he was continually in opposition to this dynasty and that it would be advisable to crush him before he could raise an insurrection. Although this was contrary to the good pleasure of the Sultân, yet on account of his affection for the Turkî *amîrs* he could not act upon that advice; for at this time the Sultân had not much power in the affairs of the kingdom.

Of necessity, in the latter part of Zî-ul-Hijjah A. H. 906 (June, A.D. 1500), the Sultân, with the *wazîrs* of the capital and his brave troops, moved from the capital and laid siege to the fort of Ausâ. Some of the *amîrs* who outwardly were on the side of the Sultân, but who were secretly in alliance with Barîd-i Mamâlik, hastened to make their obeisance to the Sultân. After the expiration of the month of Muharram, the Sultân, with the dissembling *amîrs*, as well as those who were really on his side, mounted with the intention of battle, and surrounded the fortress of Ausâ; but in the midst of the fighting the dissembling *amîrs* left the Sultân and joined Barîd-i Mamâlik. Consequently the greatest slackness found its way into the royal army, and their ranks were broken. Malik Sultân Kulî Kutb-ul-Mulk took the road of Telingânâ, and 'Âdil Khân also turned towards his own province. When Malik Kâsim Barîd-i Mamalik obtained information of the dispersal of the Sultân's army, thinking it a favourable opportunity, he hastened to do homage to the Sultân, and with him proceeded towards Bîdar. By order of the Sultân he then again assumed the government of the capital Bîdar.

After the lapse of one year, the *amîrs* again becoming disgusted with the government of Barîd-i Mamâlik, as on the former occasion, the idea of his extermination became fixed in their minds, so they united together, and, after making great preparations, turned towards the capital, Bîdar. Among the greatest of the *amîrs* who at that time went to the capital were Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân, Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk and Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others besides. When the Sultân heard of the approach of the *amîrs* bent upon eradicating Barîd-i Mamâlik, he sent to them Majlis-i Mukram Khân Khân-i Jahân, Malik-ul-'Ulumâ Ṣadr-i Jahân, Saiyid Khatîb and all the learned men in order that after ascertaining the cause of their coming and the motive of their leaguing together, the affair might be settled amicably. When the above-mentioned company, according to the Sultân's orders arrived in the assembly of the *amîrs* and delivered their message, the *amîrs* heard their words; and after some controversy it was resolved that each of the *amîrs* and *maliks* should hasten to his own district, and that Barîd-i Mamâlik also should go to Ausâ and Kandhâr, which was his district; and that once in each year the whole of the *amîrs* and *wazîrs* should come to the royal court and join in a *jihâd* against the idolaters of Vijayânagar, and, hoisting the standards of Islâm, should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants. A treaty containing many terms to this effect was then drawn up, and at the request of Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân 20,000 horses of the country were added to the *jâgîr* of Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk. After that, the *amîrs*, having kissed the Sultân's feet and been presented with robes of honour and other distinctions, obtained permission to depart. **Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Âdil Khân hastened to Bijâpur Kânara and made it his capital; while Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk Hamadânî took up his abode in the town of Golkondâ.**

In the middle of the year 908 (A. D. 1502) the Sultân, in accordance with the agreement, being resolved on waging a *jihâd* against the infidels, marched out of the capital, Bîdar, with the *amîrs* and his victorious army. He had then with him, of Turks, foreigners and Dakhanîs, not more than 5,000 horse and 30,000 veteran infantry; but when he pitched his camp at Arkî,[64] Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk joined him with 500 Arab cavalry, thirty elephants and 5,000 foot. The Sultân received him with kingly courtesy,

[64] Or Argî. Probably Pargî is meant.

and added that town to all his other feudal lands. When the royal army marched from there and encamped at Ankûr,[65] Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân joined the royal camp with 5,000 Turkî, Khurâsânî and Dakhanî horse, 6,000 infantry armed with spears, and fifteen elephants. Dastûr-i Mamâlik also joined with 3,000 horse, 3,000 foot, and forty elephants.

When the army marched from that place a royal order was issued that Masnad-i 'Âlî 'Ain-ul-Mulk with his force should go on in advance into the **Vijayânagar territory by way of Kalhar**[66] **and Kôlhapur**, and over-running the territory of the infidels, strike terror into their hearts. 'Ain-ul-Mulk, according to the orders, proceeded with 5,000 horse, 50,000 foot and eighty elephants.[67] The Sultân subsequently marched from that place and encamped within sight of the fortress of **Râyachûr**. The garrison being terrified at the assaults of the royal army tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute in order to get immunity from plunder. They also agreed to surrender to the servants of the court the revenue of the fort of Mudgal which in former times they had farmed from the agents of the Sultân, but which hitherto they had failed to pay into the public treasury; also some *parganahs* of Râyachûr which they had forcibly taken from the royal troops. The Sultân bestowed these *parganahs* on Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân; and on 'Ain-ul-Mulk and the other *amîrs* and generals he bestowed robes of honour, and gave them leave to depart. The Sultân then returned to the capital.

When the *amîrs* and *maliks*, according to the Sultân's orders, turned towards their own districts, and the Sultân with his troops and some of the *amîrs* of the foot of the throne returned to the capital, Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik, thinking it a good opportunity, with the *amîrs* already in alliance with him, had dispersed and routed a body of the royal troops; and then turning towards the capital, entered the city on the 9th of Ẓî-ul Ḥijjah[68] and laid siege to the fortress. After some days the people of the fortress, siding with

[65] Or Angûr. Probably Atakûr is meant.

[66] Probably Karhâḍ. There must be some mistake in this; for he could not have reached Vijayânagar territory through these places without making an immense detour afterwards.

[67] The number of infantry and elephants in 'Ain-ul-Mulk's force must be very much over-stated, for the total strength of the *combined* forces as given above was 13,500 cavalry, 44,000 infantry and 85 elephants.

[68] The year (though not here stated) was 908 = 5th June, A. D. 1503.

Barîd-i Mamâlik, opened the gates; and Barîd-i Mamâlik then entered the fort and put to death Khân-i Jahân who at that time had superseded him in the government. He then once more without opposition became firmly seated on the throne of government of the capital of the Dakhan.

When the news of Barîd-i Mamâlik's usurpation of absolute authority reached the *amîrs* and *malîks* of the different parts of the dominions, they did not assent to this, and took counsel together in order to overthrow the foundations of his sovereignty and eradicate the young plant of his power. In the beginning of the year 909 (A. D. 1503) Majlis-i Rafi' 'Âdil Khân, Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk, Masnad-i 'Âlî Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others beside them formed an alliance with one another and marched towards the capital. When they arrived near the capital the Sultân *nolens volens* resolved upon war with them, and hoisting his standard endeavoured to repel the hostile *amîrs*. When the two forces met a great battle took place. Finally the hostile army prevailed over that of the king, and Haidar Khân the commander was killed in the action. When Barîd-i Mamâlik saw the state of affairs he took to flight and went to his own districts. When Majlis-i Rafi' 'Âdil Khân, Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk and all the other *amîrs* heard of the flight of Malik Barîd, which was their chief object in this war with him, they hastened to wait on the Sultân and were presented with special robes of honour; then taking their leave, each of them after obtaining the completion of his wishes, returned to his own district.

In the middle of this year (909) it occurred to the mind of **Majlis-i Rafi' 'Âdil Khân** to arrange **a marriage between one of his daughters and one of the royal princes**, so as to strengthen his position by the bonds of relationship. Accordingly he rolled up the secret of his mind in a letter which he sent to the Sultân. The latter lent a favourable ear to the request of 'Âdil Khân, and in order to make arrangements for the nuptial entertainment marched towards Ahsanâbâd Kalburgâ with the principal *amîrs* and his troops. When he arrived at this celebrated place Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk hastened to the royal presence. On the third day Majlis-i Rafi' 'Âdil Khân and Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk paid their respects to the Sultân, and the latter hoisting his standard made preparations for the nuptial entertainment.

* * * * *

In the midst of the royal hospitality and entertainment Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik and Malik Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân obtained the happiness of kissing the ground before the Sultân in Kalburgâ. As a cordial hatred existed between Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Barîd-i Mamâlik, Dastûr-i Mamâlik, on account of a grudge which he had against Majlis-i Rafî', allied himself with Barîd-i Mamâlik, and with his army joined the camp of the latter and Khwâjah Jahân. Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk then joined together against Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik and his adherents. Again the doors of contention among the *amîrs* were opened afresh, and the young plant of enmity sprouted up in the climate of hypocrisy. The Sultân at this time, on account of the relationship by marriage with Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, took the part of the latter and treated him with favour.

War broke out between the two forces, and the table-cloth of entertainment and hospitality was folded up. For about two or three months the fires of slaughter blazed up between the two armies. At last Malik Ilyâs 'Ain-ul-Mulk was killed by one of the soldiers of Malik Barîd, and after that the fire of contention and war became extinguished.

After the death of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, the Sultân, in order to secure possession of his district, proceeded to **Miraj and Panhâla. Malik Barîd** with his eldest son, Jahângîr Khân, and Khwâjah Jahân with his eldest son, Malik-ut-Tujjâr (who before that was known as Ratan Khân), and Dastûr-i Mamâlik Malik Dînâr **marched to Bidar and laid siege to that fortress.** When the Sultân after taking possession of the district of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, returned to the capital, Barîd-i Mamâlik and his *wazîrs* obtained information of his approach and hastened out to meet him. Masnad-i 'Âlî Barîd-i Mamâlik and the remaining *amîrs* made their obeisance and were received with royal favour, and attended the Sultân to the capital. The Sultân conferred on Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik the title of Majlis-i Mukarram Humâyûn Nâ,îb-i Bârîk, and increased his rank beyond that of Majlis-i Karîm Khwâjah Jahân, and again consigned to him the government of the capital.

In the year 916 (A. D. 1510) discord and contention arose between Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân and Dastûr-i Mamâlik on account of an old quarrel; and as Dastûr-i Mamâlik was not strong enough to oppose Majlis-i Rafî', he put his trust in the protection and

favour of Sultân Aḥmad Baḥrî Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and took refuge at his court. This celebrated prince, thinking it incumbent on him to assist that unfortunate one, took up arms in his cause and marched with his army towards the province of Majlis-i Rafî'. When the latter heard of the movement of this army, feeling himself unable to oppose them, he took refuge at the court of the Sultân. He entirely forbade Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân to quarrel with Dastûr-i Mamâlik. Majlis-i Rafî', according to orders made a compact that in future he would become a traveller on the road of friendship and unity with Dastûr-i Mamâlik, and not traverse the valley of perverseness and sedition. After that, the Sultân sent to that prince of men [Sultân Aḥmad Baḥrî] a *farmân* full of affection and kindness, together with numerous presents; and told him how he had prohibited Majlis-i Rafî' from quarrelling with Dastûr-i Mamâlik, and related to him circumstantially the agreement made by Majlis-i Rafî'. The prince, conformably with his desire returned to the seat of government.

In the end of the year 912 (A. D. 1506), on account of Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân the dust of vexation settled on the mirror of the mind of the Sultân: for this reason he gave orders for summoning Malik Sultân Ḳulî Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk. When the latter heard the contents of the *farmân*, he hastened to the court and made his obeisance. By the Sultân's orders another *farmân*, to the following effect, was sent to summon Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik 'Imâd ul-Mulk: "In these days the demon of sedition and rebellion has carried 'Âdil Khân off the straight road of obedience and submission to this court, and has placed his foot in the desert of ingratitude. It is necessary that immediately upon receipt of this *farmân* you shall come with all speed, and arrange the affairs of the government and the army and the subjects in accordance with the wishes of the Sultân."

As Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk on the whole showed negligence and want of haste in attending at the royal court, having no other resource, the Sultân with Malik Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk and all the celebrated *amîrs*, hoisted his standard. When the Sultân arrived within sight of Kalam, Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk made his obeisance to him there. Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and all the *amîrs* becoming the advocates of Majlis-i Rafî', on his behalf made smooth the preliminaries of obedience and submission; then the dust of vexation which had settled

on the Sulṭân's heart was obliterated by the polisher of intercession. The Sulṭân pardoned the offences of Majlis-i Rafî', and rolled up the carpet of war and contention. The *amîrs* and generals in attendance on the Sulṭân returned with him to the capital; and on arrival there he turned his attention to the affairs of Malik Ḳuṭb-ul-Mulk, Malik 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and all the other *amîrs* and *maliks*; he bestowed on them valuable robes of honour and other presents, and gave them permission to depart to their respective districts.

After that, Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk died in **Elichpur**, and **Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân died within sight of Kovalakoṇḍâ.**[69] The Sulṭân conferred the title of 'Âdil Khân and the province belonging to Majlis-i Rafî' Malik Yusuf on Ismâ'îl, the eldest son of the latter; and also settled on him a quarter of the kingdom of the Dakḥan, which had been entrusted to Malik Yusuf. The affairs of the province of Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk remained for nearly a year in a state of confusion, for his eldest son, Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Daryâ Khân, was a prisoner in the fort of **Râmgîr**; but in the year 906 (A. D. 1500)[70] by the assistance of the son of Khudâwind Khân, governor of Mâhûr, he escaped from the fort of Râmgîr and reached Gâwîlgaḍh, and in his father's place took his seat on the throne of government of most of the province of **Varhâḍ (Berâr)**. At the entreaty of Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Khân, the Sulṭân conferred on Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn the title of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk with the province which had belonged to Malik Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk. In the same year Malik Khudâdâd Khwâjah Jahân died in the town of Sandlâpûr [Sholâpur?], which belonged to him. As his eldest son, Ratan Khân, had died before his father, the Sulṭân conferred the title of Khwâjah Jahân on the younger son, Nûr Khân, and added the town of Pareṇḍâ with its dependencies to his other possessions. Sandlâpûr [Sholâpur?] which previous to that had belonged to Khwâjah Jahân, he conferred on Kamâl Khân, Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Khân's general. سرخیل

[69] There is something palpably wrong in the dates here. Fatḥ-Ullâh 'Imâd-ul-Mulk died in 1504. The date of Yusuf 'Âdil Shâh's death is variously given: thus, according to the author of the *Ṭabakât-i Akbarî*, he died in 1507; according to Firishtah in 1510, and according to Mîrzâ Rafî'-ud-Dîn Shîrâzî and Mîr Ibrahim Asad Khân, in 1519. Our author says the two died at the same time, but omits to mention the date. The last date mentioned is 1506, and here he says "after that" these two kings died.

[70] This date is inconsistent with the previous statements.

In the year 920 (A. D. 1514) the Sulṭân, by the advice of Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, marched towards **Aḥsanâbâd Kalburgâ**, and took the fortress of Kalburgâ by force, and from the fire of rapine and plunder of the conquering army it became like the dust of the road. From this time in the country of the Dakhan the plunder and devastation of the territory of Islâm and the Musalmâns became a regular custom.

Dastûr-i Mamâlik, flying from those perils, took refuge with Barîd-i Mamâlik. The latter met him with the greatest respect, gave him hopes of his assistance; and sending a person to Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk, strengthened the bonds of friendship with him. In the year 921 (A. D. 1515)[71] Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik, Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk and Malik Dastûr-i Mamâlik Malik Dînâr went to the royal capital and laid siege to the fortress of Bîdar. However much the *saiyids*, *shekhs* and learned men strove to arrange the matter peaceably it was of no avail, and Ḥamîd Khân Ḥabshî, the reputed son of Dastûr-î Mamâlik, who was inside the fortress, was killed in the fighting. At last 'Aẓamat-ul-Mulk — who on behalf of Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân used to be in attendance on the Sulṭân — came out and had an interview with Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik. With the pure water of exhortations and advice he extinguished the fires of killing and fighting in which they had been engaged, and acted as arbitrator of the supplications and claims of the *amîrs*.

In the month of Jumâdî I. of the above-mentioned year (921) vexation showed itself between Dastûr-i Mamâlik and Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik, and the latter in the excess of his impetuosity and anger, marched from Kamtânah[72] and set out for his own province. At this time the Sulṭân pardoned the offences of Dastûr-i Mamâlik and treated him with royal favours; and sent to Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân a *farmân* about pacifying Dastûr-i Mamâlik.[73] He then dismissed the latter to his former *jâgîr*,

[71] Our author makes no mention of the death of Ḳâsim Barîd, and the succession of his son, Amîr Barîd, which — according to Farishtah — occurred in 1504.

[72] Not identified.

[73] There appears to be some confusion here. Dastûr Dînâr's quarrel, on this occasion, is stated to have been with his old ally, Barîd; yet from this statement it looks as though it were with Ismâ'îl 'Âdil-Shâh. There was a quarrel of long standing between these two, but it was amicably arranged by the Sulṭân — *vide* p. 140.

which was Kalburgà. Majlis-i Rafi' obeyed the order of the Sulṭân and made friends with Dastûr-i Mamâlik.

In the midst of these affairs an ambassador from Shâh Ismâ'îl Ḥusainî Ṣafawî — who had succeeded by inheritance as king of the dominions of Khurâsân and 'Irâk and the whole country of Îrân — with many valuable presents, jewels fit for kings and fleet Arab horses, arrived at the royal court and had the happiness of kissing the royal vestibule. But as the king and the army were at that time of the Sunnî persuasion, and the religion of Shâh Ismâ'îl was that of the Imâm Ja'far-i Ṣâdik (on whom be the blessing of God, the Creator!), and the royal crown [*tâj*] which he had sent was symbolical of the sect of the Twelve [Imâms], Sulṭân Maḥmûd paid no attention to that ambassador or his presents, and quickly gave him permission to depart.[74]

After these events it occurred to the mind of Aẓamat-ul-Mulk, who as the deputy of Majlis-i Rafi', was the *wazîr* of government, that as Majlis-i-Sharîf Bashîr Khudâwind Khân had placed his foot outside the circle of obedience and used to traverse the valley of rebellion, it was advisable to adopt measures to put a stop to his sedition. He accordingly brought the matter to the notice of the Sulṭân, who summoned Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik in order to take counsel with him. Majlis-i Mukram obeyed the order, and on making his obeisance was distinguished by royal favours. The Sulṭân asked his advice and assistance in repelling Bashîr Khudâwind Khân. Majlis-i Mukram concurring with the *amîrs* and great men as to the necessity for putting down the rebel, a royal order was issued for the assembly of the army. When the army was assembled pursuant to order, the Sulṭân, in the month of Sha'bân in the year 923 (August, A. D. 1517), marched with it to make war against Bashîr Khudâwind Khân, who was the feudatory

[74] The name of this ambassador was Mîrzâ Ibrâhîm Khân (or, according to the *Ṭabakât-i Akbarî*, Yâdgâr Beg Ḳizilbâsh). He had previously visited the court of Sulṭân Muẓaffar II. of Gujarât, where he was well received by the king; but received very rough treatment there at the hands of Shâhzâdah Sulṭân Muḥammad of Mâlwâ (*vide* Bayley's *Gujarât*, pp. 244-7). After leaving the Bahmanî court he went to that of Sulṭân Ismâ'îl 'Âdil Shâh, who, being a bigoted Shî'ah, gave him a cordial reception (*vide* Farishtah). From the wording of this passage it appears that the author of the *Burhân-i Ma,âsir* was himself a Shî'ah.

For the origin of the Tâj-i Ḥaidarî and the term Ḳizilbâsh, *vide Journal* of the R. A. S., April 1896, p. 255.

chief of Mahûr. When Bashîr Khudâwind Khân heard of the approach of the Sultân with the royal army, finding himself unable to oppose him, he thought the best thing he could do was to go to Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn 'Imâd-ul-Mulk to ask his assistance and then to engage the royal army. He accordingly took refuge with Malik 'Alâ-ud-Dîn. The latter felt himself bound to assist him now for the sake of the assistance which he had formerly received from Khudâwind Khân; and therefore told off three or four thousand cavalry to accompany him. Khudâwind Khân reinforced by this army then unfurled his standard and made haste to encounter the royal army. From both sides the fire of killing and fighting blazed up, and the hunter Death hastened to the chase of the lives of the brave men. The eldest son of Khudâwind Khân, who was named Ghâlib Khân, was killed in this action, and the army of Khudâwind Khân then took to flight. When he heard of the death of his son, although he was himself wounded and had left the battle-field he drew his sword, and turning back, in one attack broke the ranks of the royal army; but at last owing to his many wounds and his want of strength, he fell from his horse and was taken prisoner by the royal troops, who brought him wounded and bound into the presence of the Sultân; and the latter ordered him to be put to death as the requital of his rebellion. After that, the Sultân turned towards his capital; and the town of Mâhûr with its dependencies he conferred on Mahmûd Khân, the youngest son of Khudâwind Khân.

Historians have related that before the execution of Bashîr Khudâwind Khân a royal order was issued to the *amîrs* and great men in all parts of the dominions to assemble with a large force at the royal court in order to repel the refractory. The *amîrs*, according to orders, busied themselves in preparing war material and collecting their armies; but before they could make their obeisance at court the heart of the Sultân was freed from anxiety on account of those three rebels. Since the *amîrs* were thus kept back from attendance at the court, they now hastened to make their obeisance. Greater than them all, Sultân Ahmad Bahri with his army presented himself, and was exalted by royal favours. After him Nûrî Khân Khwâjah Jahân, coming from Parendâ, paid his respects. The remaining *amîrs* and grandees, such as Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk,

Masnad-i 'Alî 'Imad-ul-Mulk, Dastûr-i Mamâlik and others besides of the *amîrs* and *maliks*, when they heard of the arrival of the Sulṭân at the court, started for the capital with an army in numbers beyond computation, and making their obeisance offered their services.

When the Sulṭân found such an army assembled beneath the shadow of his standard, he was seized with the desire of obtaining the happiness of waging a *jihâd* against the worshippers of idols; so, for the purpose of overthrowing the idolaters and tyrants, he raised his standard and started from the capital. When the Sulṭân arrived at **Dîwânî**,[75] the enemy becoming aware of his approach, prepared for battle and hastened to engage the royal army. A battle then ensued; but suddenly a fatal misfortune occurred to the royal army. **The King of Islâm**, from the centre of the army, which was his post, became separated from the rest; and owing to the thronging of the horses and the running too and fro of the troops, **fell from his horse**; and when the two armies closed they raised so great a dust that friends and opponents were mingled together and could not be distinguished from one another, so no one was aware of what had happened to the Sulṭân till the blessed head of that leader with his most pure body was broken and **wounded in several places.** In the midst of this some of the attendants saw the king; and immediately went to him and brought him out from the midst of the horses, and putting him in a *pâlkî*, took him to the dwelling of Mîrzâ Lutf-Ulláh, son of Shâh Muḥabb-Ulláh.

When the *amîrs* and grandees became aware of the Sulṭân's misfortune, they ceased fighting and repaired to his presence; and seeing the Sulṭân lamenting and afflicted they shed fountains of blood like the Jaihûn. After that, folding up the carpet of contention and war, they turned towards the capital; and when they arrived in the vicinity of Bîdar each of the *amîrs* and grandees, according to custom, was distinguished by a special robe of honour, and they then turned towards their own districts. Majlis-i Mukram Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik did not withdraw from attendance on the Sulṭân, but accompanied him to the capital; and by the Sulṭân's orders he was again invested with the government of Bîdar; and as the Sulṭân's wounds were such that for nearly a year he could not tie his turban on the top of his head, Malik Barîd-i Mamâlik exercised sovereign sway.

[75] Not identified.

The *amîrs* of the capital, Bîdar, who always resented the government of Majlis-i Mukram looked on the bruises of the Sulṭân and the supremacy of Malik Barîd, thinking that something might happen to the Sulṭân and that Malik Barîd would then lay hands on the royal treasures and take possession of the capital and its dependencies; consequently in each head melancholy forebodings arose, and in each heart secret desires. Day and night their anxiety was by some stratagem to remove Malik Barîd from the fortress of the capital.

In the midst of this Shujâ'at Khân, who was one of the principal *amîrs*, ran away, carrying off with him two female elephants of the Sulṭân's for which the latter had a special liking. A number of those who complained of the government of Malik Barîd represented to the servants of the Sulṭân that Majlis-i Mukram was the only person who had the power to go in pursuit of Shujâ'at Khân; and another advantage in nominating him for the duty was that expediency demanded it. The Sulṭân, according to their advice, appointed Barîd-i Mamâlik to go in pursuit of Shujâ'at Khân. Malik Barîd went in all haste after Shujâ'at Khân, and overtaking him, put him to death; then carrying off the royal elephants with all the horses, baggage and other property of Shujâ'at Khân, returned with great pomp and magnificence, and had the honour of kissing the royal vestibule. So each affair that the *amîrs* had arranged turned out exactly opposite to their wishes and intentions. Day by day the power of Malik Barîd in the affairs of State became greater and greater, till he brought into his own hands the whole of the government and the control of the army and the subjects.

In this interval **the Sulṭân died.**

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This great misfortune, which was the cause of the ruin of the world and the affliction of the human race, occurred on the 24th of Ẓî-ul-Ḥijjah, A. H. 924 (**26th December, A. D. 1518**). His age was forty-seven years and twenty days, and the duration of his reign was thirty-seven years and two months.

Although during his reign, in the dominions of the Dakḥan, owing to the opposition and quarrelling of the *amîrs* and generals, and the numerous plots and the quantity of bloodshed, which were the cause of distress among the people and the desolation of the country; yet as long as this Sulṭân remained alive, all the *amîrs*, *wazîrs* and *maliks* — notwithstanding their contumaciousness

among one another — were, *nolens volens*, loyal to their sovereign, and did not withdraw their heads from the collar of obedience and submission. If now and then one of the *amîrs* got perverse ideas in his mind, all the other *amîrs* and *maliks*, treading the path of obedience with the Sulṭân, joined the latter in putting down rebels, and used to strike out the letter of hypocrisy from the page of submission.[76]

Some historians of the annals of this king state that in the latter days of his reign the reins of government entirely left the hands of the Sulṭân, and that Malik Barîd with the approval of the *amîrs* of all parts of the dominions seated the Sulṭân in the corner of retirement and seclusion, and divided the country among themselves; and that the Sulṭân for a long time after was a prisoner, till at last he died. But God alone knows the truth of matters!

When the Sulṭân departed this life, all at once anarchy and confusion found their way into the country of the Dakhan: each one of the *amîrs* and great men proclaimed his independence and sovereignty in his own place of residence; and the rights of rebellion and confusion became promulgated in that country. The *amîrs* and *maliks* — like the kings of nations — shut on one another the doors of obedience, and hoisted the standards of independent rule. Consequently the infidels of Vijayânagar, seizing the property of the Musalmâns, used each year to make raids into the territory of Islâm, and much injury used to be caused by those infidels to the country of the Musalmâns.

Majlis-i Rafî' 'Âdil Khân, who after that became entitled "'Âdil Shâh;" and Masnad-i 'Âlî Malik Kuṭb-ul-Mulk who sat on the Kuṭb-Shâhî throne, since they were in proximity to the country of the infidels, of course the injury and malice of that tribe of infidels reached in a greater degree the capital, Aḥmadnagar and all the territory of that place; until the time of Shâh Ḥusain Nizâm Shâh who extinguished by the sword the sparks of the sedition and annoyances caused by the cursed infidels, as will hereafter, please God! be related in detail in these pages.

End of the Bahmanî Dynasty.

[76] This is an important passage, as it shows how the governors of provinces were justified in declaring their independence on the decline and fall of the Bahmanî power. If they had not done so, they would have had to submit to the ignominy of being ruled by Malik Barîd instead of their lawful sovereign, Kuṭb-ul-Mulk's loyalty lasted longest.

Index to the Map.

Note. — The letters after the names correspond with those in the borders of the map, and indicate the square in which the name will be found. In this map the compiler has endeavoured to represent the Dakhan as it was in A. D. 1565, shortly after the battle of Tâlikoṭ.

Adhwânî (Adoni) ... Ff
'Adlâbâd ... ... Gb
Afẓalpur ... ... Ed
Aḥmadnagar .. ... Cb
Ailgandal (Yelgandal) ... Hc
'Ainâpur ... ... Ce
Ajanta ... ... Da
Âjrâ ... ... Ce
Akalkot ... ... Ed
Âkerî ... ... Ib
Akola ... ... Fa
Âlandî Cc
Allûr ... ... Ed
Almela ... ... Ed
Amrâpur ... ... Ea
Anagâ,oṇ ... ... Fc
Andorî ... ... Ga
Ankâ,î ... ... Ca
Antûr ... ... Da
Antûr ... ... Gb
Arsûl ... ... Db
Asâ,î (Assaye) ... ... Da
Âshtâ ... ... Ce
Athnî ... ... De
Aurangâbâd ... ... Db
Ausâ ... ... Ec
Bâdâmî (ancient Vatâpî-puri) ... ... Df
Bâgalkot ... ... De
Baizvâḍâ Ic
Balâlpur ... ... Hb
Bâlkoṇḍa .. .. Gc
Bânkot ... ... Bd
Bardol ... ... Dd
Bârsî ... ... Dc
Bâsîm ... ... Fa
Bassein (Wasâ,î) ... ... Ab
Bastâr ... ... Jb
Baswanthaggar ... ... Fb
Bâtaval ... ... Ie
Belamkoṇḍa ... ... Ie
Belgâ,oṇ ... ... Cf
Bethalvâḍî ... ... Da
Beṭigiri (Betgere) ... Df
Bhanûr ... ... Ff
Bhîḍ ... ... Db
Bhonâgîr ... ... Gd
Bhor ... ... Bc
Bhorap ... ... Bc
Bhûm ... ... Dc
Bichkoṇḍa ... ... Fc
Bicholim ... ... Cf
Bîdar ... ... Fd
Bijâpur ... ... De
Bitangaḍh ... ... Bb
Bokardhan ... ... Da
Buldânâ ... ... Ea
Burhânâbâd (or Burhân-nagar) ... ... Cb
Burhânpur ... ... Ga
Bûshangaḍh ... ... Cd
Châkan ... ... Bc

Châṇḍâ ... ... Hb
Chandan[77] ... ... Cd
Châṇḍor ... ... Ca
Chandrâgaḍh ... ... Bc
Chandrâgirî ... ... Ge
Charchan ... ... Dd
Châvandh ... ... Bb
Chéûl (Chaul) ... ... Ac
Chikhlî ... ... Ea
Chinchlî ... ... Ce
Chincholî ... ... Fd
Chindrâgirî ... ... Hc
Chinnûr ... ... Hc
Chintapallî ... ... Ie
Chiplûn ... ... Bd
Dâbhol ... ... Bd
Daflâpur ... ... De
Daglûr ... ... Fc
Dâhânu ... ... Ab
Dahivâḍî ... ... Cd
Damal ... ... Df
Dâmân ... ... Aa
Danda-Râjpurî ... ... Bc
Dârâsko ... ... Ec
Dârûr ... ... Ec
Dârûr ... ... Fc
Daulatabad (or Devagiri). Db
Dâvâkoṇḍa ... ... Ff
Dâvaleshvaram ... ... Je
Dâvalghât ... ... Ea
Devarakoṇḍa ... ... Ge
Devgaḍh ... ... Be
Dhanûr ... ... Ee
Dhârwâr ... ... Df
Dûpâd ... ... Hf
Elûru (Ellora) ... ... Da
Elûru ... ... Je
Fîrûzâbâd ... ... Ed
Gaḍag ... ... Df
Gajendragaḍh ... ... Ef
Gajvîl ... ... Gd
Galgalla ... ... De
Gândarî ... ... Ge
Ganjautî ... ... Ed
Ghanpura ... ... Ge
Givarâ,î ... ... Db
Goa ... ... Bf
Gogî ... ... Ec
Gokâk ... ... Ce
Golkoṇḍa ... ... Gd
Gûbâgaḍh ... ... Bd
Gunjotî (Kinjotî) ... Ed
Guntûr ... ... Ie
Ḥaidarâbâd ... ... Gd
Haliâl ... ... Cf
Ḥasanâbâd ... ... Fd
Ḥasanâbâḍ ... ... Fd
Harîchandragaḍh ... Bb
Hinganghât ... ... Ga
Hippargî ... ... Ed
Hortî ... ... Dd
Hublî ... ... Df
Hukerî ... ... Ce
Hungund ... ... Ee
Inchalkaranjî ... ... Ce
Indâpur ... ... Dc
Indrakoṇḍa ... ... Hd
Indûr ... ... Gc
Ingalgî (properly Ingaligi) Ee
Jagdalpur ... ... Jb
Jaigaḍh ... ... Bd
Jaldrug ... ... Ee
Jâlihâl ... ... Ee
Jâlnâ ... ... Db

[77] In the historical MSS. Chandan and Wandhan are always mentioned together, as if they were one place.

Jamâlpur ... ... Ec
Jambotî ... ... Cf
Jamkhandi ... ... De
Jâmkheḍ ... ... Dc
Janjîra ... ... Bc
Jath ... ... Dd
Jawhâr ... ... Bb
Jeûr ... ... Cb
Judhan ... ... Bb
Junnar ... ... Bb
Kâgal ... ... Ce
Kalâdgî ... ... De
Kalam ... ... Ga
Kalburgâ ... ... Ed
Kalghatkî ... ... Df
Kaliyânî Peṭ ... ... Gc
Kalabgûr ... ... Gd
Kalyâṇ[78] ... ... Bb
Kalyândî ... ... Fd
Kamâmungî ... ... Fc
Kambampeṭ (Kamâmot) ... Id
Kamplî ... ... Ef
Kânâkgirî ... ... Ef
Kanbarî ... ... De
Kandhâr ... ... Fc
Kânker ... ... Ja
Karhâḍ (Karâḍ) ... ... Cd
Karajgî ... ... Dd
Kariṇja ... ... Fa
Karjat ... ... Dc
Karmâlâ ... ... Dc
Karnûl ... ... Gf
Katargaḍh ... ... Df
Kaulâs ... ... Fc
Khânâpur ... ... Cd
Khânâpur ... ... Ce
Khardâ Cc
Khârepâṭaṇ ... ... Be
Khatâ,o ... ... Cd
Kheḍ ... ... Bc
Khelnâ (see Vishâlgaḍh).
Khondânâ (Siṇhgaḍh) ... Bc
Kittûr ... ... Cf
Koḍekal ... ... Ec
Kokatnûr ... ... Ec
Kolâr ... ... Dc
Kolhâpur Cc
Koṇḍapallî Ic
Koṇḍâvîr (or Murtazânagar) Ic
Kopâl ... ... Ef
Kopargâ,oṇ ... ... Cb
Koregâ,oṇ ... ... Cd
Kotâgîr ... ... Fc
Kovalakoṇḍa ... ... Fc
Koyer (Kohîr) ... ... Fd
Kukkanûr ... ... Ef
Kulbargâ (see Kalburgâ).
Kundgol ... ... Df
Kurandvâḍ Cc
Kurtholî ... ... Df
Kushtagî ... ... Ef
Lahâgaḍh (see Luhgaḍh).
Laksmeshvar ... ... Df
Lavârâ ... ... Ed
Lonâr (Salt Lake) ... Eb
Luhgaḍh (properly Lohogaḍh) ... ... Bc
Machlipatnam ... ... Jc
Madhol ... ... Dc
Madîkehra ... ... Ff
Mahim ... ... Ab
Mahimângaḍh ... ... Cd
Mâhûr ... ... Fb
Maktal ... ... Fe
Malangûr ... ... Hc
Mâlegâ,oṇ ... ... Ca

[78] Omitted in map. Lat. 19° 14′ N. Long. 73° 10′ E.

Malkâpur ... ... Ea
Mâlkheḍ ... ... Fd
Mâlwân ... ... Bc
Mândgâ,oṇ ... ... Ga
Mândwâ ... ... Dc
Mândwar ... ... Ca
Mangalveḍhâ ... ... Dd
Mângrûl ... ... Fa
Mânikdaund ... ... Db
Mânikpûnj ... ... Ca
Manolî ... ... Df
Manûr ... ... Db
Médak ... ... Gc
Mediryen Kota ... ... Ec
Mehkâr ... ... Ea
Miraj ... ... Ce
Misrîkot ... ... Df
Moranjan ... ... Bc
Muddebihâl ... ... Ee
Mudgal ... ... Ef
Mulgund ... ... Df
Mûnagâlâ ... ... Hd
Mundargî (or Saiyidâbâd). Ed
Mundargî ... ... Ee
Mundargî ... ... Df
Mungî ... ... Db
Musalakal... ... ... Fe
Muskî ... ... Ef
Nagarkarnûl ... ... Ge
Nâgotnâ ... ... Bc
Naldrug (or Shâhdrug) .. Ed
Nalgundâ ... ... Hd
Nândér (Nândair) ... Fb
Nândgâ,oṇ .. .. Fa
Nârâyangaḍh ... ... Cb
Nârâyankheḍâ ... ... Fc
Nârâyanpur ... ... Gd
Nâregal ... ... Df
Nargund ... ... Df
Nâsik ... ... Bb
Nangâ,oṇ ... ... Db
Navalgund (Navilugunda) Df
Nevâsâ ... ... Cb
Nidada,ûl (Nirdol) ... Jc
Nikonâ ... ... Bc
Nipânî Cc
Niẓâmpatnam ... ... If
Paiṭhaṇ[79] ... ... Db
Pâlî ... ... Bc
Pandharpur ... ... Dd
Pândûgaḍh ... ... Bc
Pângal ... ... Ge
Panhâḷâ ... ... Ce
Parasgaḍh ... ... Df
Parendâ ... ... Dc
Pargî ... ... Fd
Pârnér ... ... Cb
Partâpgaḍh ... ... Bd
Patan (see Rédî).
Pâthardî ... ... Db
Patan Cherû ... ... Gd
Pâthrî ... ... Eb
Pattâ ... ... Bb
Phaltan Cc
Pîpalgâ,oṇ... ... ... Db
Pîrgâ,oṇ ... ... Bc
Poona Cc
Prachitgaḍh ... ... Bd
Purandhar Cc
Râchol ... ... Cf
Râdakoṇḍâ ... ... Ef
Râhûrî ... ... Cb
Râ,ibâg Cc
Râ,ichûr ... ... Fe
Râjâmahendrî(Râjâmundrî) Jd
Râjgaḍh ... ... Bc

[79] Also known as Mungî Paiṭhaṇ and Brahmapuri Prathisthana.

Râjpurî ... ... Bc
Râjâkoṇḍâ... ... ... Gd
Râmdrug ... ... Df
Râmdrug ... ... Fe
Râmgîr ... ... Hc
Ratangaḍh ... ... Bb
Ratnâgirî ... ... Bd
Râygaḍh ... ... Bc
Rédî (or Paṭan) ... ... Be
Revdaṇda ... ... Ac
Risod ... ... Eb
Sagar ... ... Ee
Saiyidâbâd (see Mundargî).
Sangam ... ... Fd
Sangameshvar ... ... Bd
Sangamnér ... ... Cb
Sângalî ... ... Ce
Sângola ... ... Dd
Sânkeshvar ... ... Ce
Sâtârâ ... ... Cd
Shâhdrug (see Naldrug).
Shakarkhelda ... ... Ea
Shamshîrgaḍh ... ... Cf
Sharâdon ... ... Ec
Shevâlâ ... ... Fb
Shevgâ,oṇ... ... ... Db
Sholâpur ... ... Dd
Shorâpur . . .. Ee
Shrîgoṇḍa... Cc
Shrîvardhan ... ... Bc
Sindanûr ... ... Ef
Siṇhgaḍh (see Kondhânâ).
Sinnâr ... ... Cb
Siṇronchâ Ic
Sirhattî ... ... Df
Sirûr Cc
Sivitâl ... ... Ee
Songîr (Soukehr)... ... Be
Shrîmantgaḍh ... ... Df
Sundarvâḍî ... ... Cf
Sûpâ ... ... Cf
Tâklî ... ... Da
Taklî ... ... Eb
Tâmbâ ... ... Ee
Tâmsâ ... ... Fb
Tankâ,ì ... ... Ca
Târlâ ... ... Ce
Tâvaragiri ... ... Ef
Terdal ... ... De
Thânâ ... ... Bb
Ther ... ... Ec
Tîsgâ,oṇ ... ... Ca
Toljâpur ... ... Ec
Trimbak ... ... Bb
Tung ... ... Bc
Udghîr ... ... Fc
Ûtalûr ... ... Gc
Uttûr ... ... Cb
Vengûrlâ ... ... Bf
Venkatapur ... ... Je
Vijayâdrug ... ... Be
Vijayânagar ... ... Ef
Vinukoṇḍa ... ... He
Vishâlgaḍh (Khelnâ) ... Be
Warâgaḍh... ... ... Cd
Waraṇgal (Woraṇgal) ... Hd
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Wargâ,oṇ ... ... Bb
Yedagiri ... ... Fe
Yelburgâ ... ... Ef

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